

# A PHILIPPICK ORATION

To incite the

*K English* against the *French*;

But especially

To prevent the treating of a *Peace* with  
them too soon after they are beaten:

Offer'd to the

## PRIVY-COUNCIL

OF

## ENGLAND,

In the Year of *Christ*, 1514.

By an uncertain AUTHOR

Who was not for pareing the Nails, but quite  
plucking out the Claws of the *French*.

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Now first publisht, and illustrated with a Preliminary Discourse, and Annotations,

By JOHN TOLAND.

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L O N O N :

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THE  
O R A T I O N

English against the French;

The present the number of Town with  
them too for any no person;

PRIVILEGE  
MUSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

is the first of the year  
by the University of London  
with view for the purpose of the year  
holding during the year of the year

Not the first of the year  
by the University of London  
with view for the purpose of the year

JOHN V. VOL. 1  
The first of the year  
by the University of London  
with view for the purpose of the year



T O  
QUEEN ANNE,

The pious, the fortunate, the triumphant,  
By whose Councils, Arms, and Treasure  
(Bravely assisted by the *Dutch*)

The *French* with their *Allies* are vanquish'd,  
The Dignity of the *Austrian* Family in *Germany*  
And their Title in *Spain* asserted,

*Italy* and *Flanders* restor'd to Liberty,

And the *Britains* crown'd with immortal Glory:  
This *Oration*, formerly design'd against the *French*,

But now at last most seasonably employ'd,  
(Being an exact Pattern and a just Encomium  
Of her glorious Administration)

Is most humbly and dutifully consecrated

B Y

JOHN TOLAND.

# QUEEN ANNE

The name the first of the reign  
of which Council, John and Thomas  
The second, John and Thomas  
The third, John and Thomas  
The fourth, John and Thomas  
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The ninety-eighth, John and Thomas  
The ninety-ninth, John and Thomas  
The hundredth, John and Thomas

JOHN DOLAND

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A Preliminary  
**DISSERTATION**  
CONCERNING

The Stile, Occasion, and Author of  
the following *Oration*, with an  
account of the *Notes* that are  
every where Subjoin'd.

**A** GENTLEMAN who is a  
true Lover of Learning and  
Learned men, rumageing last year for  
I know not what among great heaps  
of old Papers, did light by chance up-  
on a Manuscript with the word  
GALLIA inscrib'd on the outside.  
This made him desirous of looking  
within it. But it was so wholly void  
of distinct Pointing, and so full of  
Ab-

## ii A PRELIMINARY

*Abbreviations* (tho' otherwise the Character is handsom enough for the time wherein it was written) that he had not leisure to decypher it, and so he put it into my hands, to see what I cou'd make of it. In a few days I gave an account that pleas'd him: whereupon he made me a present of the Manuscript, and left it in my power to do with it what I shou'd think fit. In the Use I now make of this Liberty I have not solely trusted to my own Judgment, but being likewise prest by the Sollicitations of all those to whom I shou'd the book, I resolv'd at last to print it, not only as an excellent piece of Literature and History, which contains unanswerable reasons against making Peace overhastily with the French; but likewise as being a magnificent Encomium of the English Nation and Government. It is therefore but reasonable, that,



## DISSERTATION.    iii

*that, in the first place, I shou'd exactly inform the Reader what it is: next, I shall relate the Occasion of writing it, without which it were impossible to discern it's greatest beauties: then I shall offer my conjectures about the Author: And, in the last place, give an account of the Notes I have subjoin'd all along, and of every thing besides that concerns the present Publication. But I wou'd not be understood to confine my self so strictly to those heads, as to speak of nothing else: provided what I say be naturally suggested by my principal Subject, as well as proper to the present Time and Occasion.*

I. THE Title of the Manuscript is, AN ORATION TO INCITE THE ENGLISH AGAINST THE FRENCH; *but in the printed Copy I have added a word more, and*  
call'd

#### iv A PRELIMINARY

*call'd it A PHILIPPICK ORATION, for the same reason that CICERO entitl'd his Orations against Antony PHILIPPICKS: because the Orations of DEMOSTHENES to the People of Athens against PHILIP king of Macedonia, the common Enemy of the Greeks (wherein he so intrepidly expos'd the arts and designs of that Monarch, and so effectually rouz'd the courage and councils of his fellow Citizens) have obtain'd this peculiar mark of esteem, that, in imitation of them, all speeches of this kind, be the Tyrant's name what it will, are emphatically stil'd PHILIPPICKS. As for the Oration now before me; none has a better claim to this Title, and it is in every respect a Masterpiece; which I don't affirm (according to the ridiculous affectation of some) because I publish it my self; but I therefore*  
*publish*

## DISSERTATION. V

publish it, because I find it so highly deserving the pains. The Latin is of the purest times, without the least barbarous allay from the modern Languages: nor are there any antiquated words (which many Authors chuse to intersperse for Ornaments) but only the *Pœnitudo* of *Pacuvius* in one place for *Pœnitentia*. The *Stile* is never creeping nor swelling, never intricate nor harsh; 'tis generally grave, tho' sometimes gay and splendid; but always easy, always masterly, always correct. The Author's words, like rivers near their spring, flow clear and gentle at the beginning: he grows more brisk and rapid in his course, yet by just degrees, as his matter streams in upon him from every quarter: and he's so far from stagnating any where, or overflowing, or running low, that he ends as if he were lost and swallow'd up in some boundless



## VI APRELIMINARY

*Ocean of Eloquence. He perfectly well understood the Passions, and knew how to vary his Language so dextrously, as to sute it (not seldom in the same period) to the different affections of his Auditors. But, that I may express the whole in three words with C I C E R O, he has said every thing most properly, distinctly, and elegantly. He had a particular relish for the Poets, and appears to have been a complete Historian, without which two qualifications none was ever known to become a finish'd Orator. To draw nearer our point, he was as implacable an Enemy of the French, as he was an extraordinary admirer of the English; which shou'd induce all equitable persons of both nations to make a due abatement in his Characters. Nevertheless, it must be confess'd an Advantage on our side, that the writer himself is a foreigner; and  
that*



## DISSERTATION. VII

that even at this time all foreign nations (be it said without boasting) do readily allow us the utmost his Rhetorick could display: for the publick credit of our Funds, the consummate wisdom of our Councils, and the invincible power of our Arms, are the admiration of all the world, tho' the terror of some, and perhaps the envy of others. If humane nature were not ever the same; and that men in the like circumstances were not suppos'd ever to act much after the like manner, it wou'd be to no purpose to read antient History, wherein we converse with the dead, and learn how to deal with the living. This consideration has made the resemblance and conformity of several Revolutions, Victories, Politick devices, and other remarkable accidents, in very different and distant ages of the World, to seem less wonderful to men of reading

## viii A PRELIMINARY

and experience. But in the following Oration, compar'd with the series of the present war with France, there is such a Parity of certain circumstances, and this even in the characters of some principal persons, as cannot fail of surprizing the least superstitious. And, did not the Manuscript carry in it self such authentick marks of being genuine, some (I question it not) wou'd be tempted to suspect, since the scene is still the same, that the affairs of our days were here represented, tho' under the names of Actors that liv'd 200 years ago. The Generation of Criticks wou'd say, that it was a handsom contrivance to decline envy or to palliate flattery: nor was I without pain how this judgement of theirs cou'd be prevented, till I reflected with my self, that they won't allow any of the living to perform so well; for the  
rivals

## DISSERTATION. ix

*rivals of a Critick are never dead,  
nor his friends ever alive.*

II. *THE better to understand the  
Occasion of writing this work, we  
must know that in the Year of  
CHRIST, 1508, MAXIMILIAN  
Emperor of Germany, FERDINAND  
King of Arragon and Administrator  
of Castile, LEWIS the twelfth King  
of France, and JULIUS the second  
Pope of Rome, made a league a-  
gainst the Venetians by their agents  
at Cambray: and that the Vene-  
tians the following Year, losing the  
fatal battle of Ghiaradadda, lost also  
their whole territories on the Conti-  
nent, which were seiz'd and shar'd  
by the several Potentates just now  
mention'd. But as all these did not  
confederate together out of the same  
view, so they found their accounts  
as different in the war, as their In-  
terest*



## X PRELIMINARY

terests were separate in Peace; and therefore they begun by little and little to fall out among themselves. JULIUS was the first who lent a favourable ear to the Venetians in the Year 1509; but, finding himself suspected by MAXIMILIAN and LEWIS, he fairly pull'd off his mask, and the Year after absolv'd the Venetians from all Ecclesiastical censures; for they were attack't at once by the Spiritual and Secular sword. Then he made an open Rupture with the French, to which nation he bore a mortal antipathy, speaking of 'em always very contemptibly, without sparing even the dignity of LEWIS himself, against whom he rais'd all the enemies he was able. His most plausible pretence was the Love of his Country, which he was ambitious (forsooth) of deliv'ring from the Yoke of foreigners.



## DISSERTATION. XI

reigners. This in a sincere heart is the noblest principle of action; but the Italians themselves confess, that JULIUS wou'd only change their Master, and grudg'd to see 'em Slaves to any other but himself. He got the Switzers to declare against the French (to use the words of MEZERAY) by the means of MATTHEW SCHINER Bishop of Sion, whose vehement harangues provok'd and agitated this savage Nation, as leaves are tost by the wind. The next who espous'd his quarrell were the English. HENRY the seventh dying in April 1509, was succeeded by his son HENRY the eighth, to whom he left the fullest treasury in Christendom, and who for vigour of mind and body, the comeliness of his person, and a most generous disposition, exceeded all the Princes of his time; tho', towards his latter end,

## XII A PRELIMINARY

end, he grew very peevish and unweildy, if not severe and bloody. My Lord HERBERT of Cherbury, the writer of his Life, observes, that the frame of his first Councill was of Scholars chiefly and of Soldiers, who were not chosen out of any fond affection to their persons, but for their ability to discharge their several posts: and that, preferring the prosperity of his affairs before private ends or a servile complaisance, they wou'd not only impartially advise, but often modestly contest with him in any thing for his good. Few Princes are so happy in their Ministers, and fewer still who follow his example by encouraging such freedom in declaring their minds. Yet 'tis an incontestable Maxim, that, if the first part of Wisdom consist in giving good counsell, the next is to take it. Add to all this, that HENRY  
had

## DISSERTATION. xiii

had no small tincture of Letters, having in his elder Brother's life time been design'd (as it's thought) for Archbishop of Canterbury. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if a Prince of such power and singular Accomplishments was highly courted by the POPE to ingage in the war against France, frankly offering him to be head of the Italick League, protector of the Apostolick See, and what not of this kind. HENRY was easily gain'd to think of breaking with LEWIS, not only stimulated by the inveterate hatred between both nations, and by the underhand solicitations of his father-in-law FERDINAND, lest LEWIS shou'd disturb him in his newly acquir'd kingdom of Naples; but he was in reality at those years a devout stickler for the Roman See, and made a profession of exalting the Church; as  
c believing



## XIV APRELIMINARY

believing he shou'd serve Religion by augmenting the temporal power of the POPE, which was outstripping the Zeal of the very Italians, tho' falling much short of their Politicks. LEWIS being thus driven to extremities by the practices of JULIUS, was the principal author of assembling the Council of Pisa (whereof we have given a large account in the Notes) under pretence of reforming the Church, but in truth to depose the POPE. And JULIUS on the other hand (being encourag'd by the certain prospect of the EMPEROR and the Spaniard's joining with our KING in his defence) summon'd the Council of Lateran, as we also give an account in the Notes. He excommunicated LEWIS with all his adherents, the Council in the mean time making a Decree to transferr the Kingdom of France, and  
the



## DISSERTATION. XV

the title of most Christian to the King of England, who on this score receiv'd a world of complements from his neighbours. He sent a herald to LEWIS (now only stil'd the most illustrious) to let him know that there was an end of all treaties between them, since it was provided in the same, that they shou'd neither make war against the POPE, nor the King of Spain. His words were seconded by Deeds. The coasts of Britany and Normandy he infested with his Fleet; and sent six or eight thousand men to Guiposcoa, that from thence, in conjunction with the Spaniards, they might invade Guienne. But the Spaniards, instead of joining them, seiz'd on the Kingdom of Navarre, FERDINAND pretending no other title, but the POPE'S Excommunication against all the adherents of the French King

## XVI A PRELIMINARY

(of which the King of Navarre was one) whereby their dominions were granted to the first occupier. Our forces, thus deluded, return'd home without expecting HENRY's orders: and shortly after Pope JULIUS dies, in the month of February 1513, leaving the French ready to enter into a league with the Venetians (whereof in the Notes) the EMPEROR and our KING about to join against France, and FERDINAND, according to his custom, treating clandestinely with the one and the other. In effect, he concluded a secret truce with the French, the better to preserve Navarre, and to establish his Regency of Castile. The EMPEROR had likewise the Year before made a truce with the Venetians, and recall'd the Germans that were in the French service: but his publicly declaring  
now

## DISSERTATION. xvii

now for the Council of Lateran, tho' formerly he had privately encourag'd that of Pisa, wou'd let the French King no longer doubt of his sinister intentions towards him. LEO the tenth of this name succeeded JULIUS in the Pontifical chair; and tho' at first he did not openly declare himself against the French, yet every body perceiv'd that he did not like they shou'd have any footing in Italy. Nay, he seriously encourag'd our KING to proceed in his military preparations, which were nothing slacken'd by the late treacherous dealing of FERDINAND, who found various pretences to justify or at least to excuse his conduct; promising the Confederates that he wou'd quickly break his engagements with France, of which they made a greater doubt than he a scruple. HENRY remitted considerable sums of mony (yet  
not



## xviii APRELIMINARY

not all he promis'd) to the Switzers, who were to enter Burgundy at the same time that he invaded Picardy; and order'd likewise 120000 Crowns for the EMPEROR, who, by agreement, was to put himself at their head. The Switzers (as is fully related in the Notes) came indeed in great numbers, but suddenly return'd. MAXIMILIAN chose rather to join his forces with those of our KING, to whom he paid unusual honours, and some without example: for he actually became his soldier, in token whereof he wore the Rose and saint GEORGE'S cross; and likewise receiv'd his pay, which amounted to 100 Crowns a day. VARRILLAS, in his life of LEWIS the twelfth, represents this action as an instance of MAXIMILIAN'S mean and mercenary temper; tho' I shou'd rather think it an effect of his Policy,



## DISSERTATION. XIX

Policy, to engage our young King the more firmly to his interest. But 'tis the peculiar happiness of England to have sovereign Princes in one age become her Generals, and to have her Generals in another age become sovereign Princes; delivering Italy at both times from the Usurpation of the French, and at both times laying eternal obligations on the house of Austria. I shall not here repeat the amazing successes of that war, which are related in the following Oration, and in the Notes I have added to the same; where you will find the particulars of the Battle of Spurs, as also the taking of Terouënne, then a rich and populous City; and of Tournay, which still continues to be so. No sooner did LEWIS understand his defeat at Guinegast, but, giving France for lost, he abandon'd Paris, and fled as  
fast

## XX A PRELIMINARY

*fast as he cou'd to Blois, whither his unlucky fate as speedily pursu'd him: for there he was inform'd that JAMES the fourth of Scotland was himself slain, and most of his Army cut to pieces, while he endeavour'd to make a diversion in his favour during the King's absence from England. The first effect of our Victories was the recalling of the best part of the French troops from Italy, which occasion'd their losing it quite, as we hope they have done, or are about to do at this time. All the Historians of that time are unanimously agreed, that they had also lost all France, had HENRY but pursu'd his point, and not forgot his Declaration of war, which was to recover the English Rights and Dominions in France, as well as to succour and defend the POPE. VARRILLAS himself acknowledges, that*  
if

## DISSERTATION. XXI

if our KING had march'd straight to Paris (to which he was prest by many of his own Officers) the French Monarchy had been inevitably ruin'd; and adds further, that the shameful agreement which the Duke of Tremouille had made (tho' without orders) with the Switzers to quit Burgundy, did as much service then to France, as formerly the Maid of Orleans, or the Count of Dunois. I have not time enough here to examine the reasons MAXIMILIAN had to turn the edge of the war another way, nor whether HENRY did well or ill to comply with him. But it may serve at least for one of those numberless examples which ought to convince the world, that in war there's an absolute necessity of lodging all power in a single hand, as the Romans did to POMPEY in the Piratick, and to SCIPIO in  
d the

## xxii A PRELIMINARY

*the Carthaginian war. How is it otherwise possible to be secret in resolving, or in executing speedy? not to insist on the dividing of an army into parties by mutual disputes and jealousies, by particular malice and envy, or by the diverse views and interests, the unequal capacity and courage of the Generals. Let any one consider the different face of affairs in the last Campaign, where his Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH had the supream command, from that of the foregoing Campaign, where he might be over-voted at a Councill of war, or his designs be discover'd to the Enemy; and he'll need no further arguments to satisfy him in this point. But that I may resume where I left off, the winter approaching, and MAXIMILIAN being departed into Germany, our KING, after garrisoning his new Conquests,*



## DISSERTATION. xxiii

Conquests, return'd with the rest of his army triumphantly into England. Yet e'er he left France he sent a Herald to acquaint LEWIS, that he must expect to receive a visit from him the following spring at Paris, with double the army he had the year before. The Switzers likewise, who still receiv'd his pay to support MAXIMILIAN SFORZA Duke of Milan, threatned to fall at the same time into France with 50000 men, breathing nothing but slaughter and devastation. The French King on the whole matter considering his late ill successes, his surest confederate kill'd, the administration of the Scottish affairs in Queen MARGARET the King of England's sister, a league sworn to his destruction by three of the most powerful Princes in Christendom, the POPE fulminating against him as a Schismatick,

## XXIV APRELIMINARY

himself being far advanc'd in years and miserably tormented with the Gout: for these reasons, I say, he apply'd himself to put his affairs in a better posture against the next spring, and to make fair weather (if he cou'd) on every side. He made his submission in the first place to the POPE, renouncing the Council of Pisa, and begging absolution in the humblest manner. He pacify'd MAXIMILIAN in some measure by promising him aid of men and money against the Turks; and renews the truce with FERDINAND for a year longer, by relinquishing Navarre. But because, without the help of all these, England alone was enough to grapple with France, and that the Cardinal of SION by his intreagues and harangues had frustrated all hopes of accommodation with the Switzers; he earnestly su'd

## DISSERTATION. XXV

to HENRY for Peace, without refusing any conditions, tho' never so hard or dishonourable. And, to be short, a Peace was concluded between them in August 1514, by means of the Duke of Longueville, then call'd the Marquiss of Rotelin, who had been a prisoner in England ever since the battle of Guinegast, and who was a very adroit Courtier. ANNE the Queen of France being lately dead, the Duke propos'd a marriage between LEWIS and our King's Sister the Lady MARY, reckon'd the fairest Princess of her time, which was solemniz'd by Proxy the same day the peace was proclaim'd at London, and consummated at Abbeville the following October. Our KING (as may be seen in the Notes) retain'd Tournay, and, besides an annual summ of mony for six years, LEWIS oblig'd himself  
and

## xxvi A PRELIMINARY

*and his successors to pay another for the Arrears of the Tribute which was promis'd at the treaty of Pequigny, and confirm'd by that of Estampes in the Year 1492. But having liv'd only about three months with his young wife (who, in the year 1517, was married to CHARLES BRANDON Duke of Suffolk) he dy'd the first of January, and with him dy'd all his projects. Now, when MAXIMILIAN and FERDINAND found in good earnest that King HENRY harkn'd to the Agents and Emissaries of France, to which he was not a little dispos'd by the wants or inconstancy of the former, and the repeated treacheries of the latter, they set all engines at work to traverse the Negotiation. It was at that time, and for this very purpose, that the Oration we have before us was compos'd, in which*  
(except-



## DISSERTATION. XXVII

(excepting the marriage and death of LEWIS that immediately follow'd) perpetual allusions are made to all parts of the story you have just read, and which on this account was absolutely necessary to be told. The speech is addrest to the Privy-council, but I cannot find that it was ever spoke there; tho' it was not the first time that foreign ministers were admitted to speak even in our Parliaments. After a copy of it was deliver'd to the KING or his Ministers, it was probably intended to be spread (as pamphlets are now) among the people, whose minds were strangely elevated with the late successes, being extreamly desirous of reconquering France: but the Peace having been suddenly concluded, the Oration, besides that it was now useless, cou'd not afterwards be safely publisht, by reason it is provided  
in

## xxviii A PRELIMINARY

*in the very Treaty, that no writing shall be suffer'd to come abroad reflecting on either Nation, their Princes, or Confederates. And thus it has lain buried in dust and rubbish from that time till now. But, be this how it will, the Reasons in it for continuing the war with France admit of no reply, being all of equal or more force at present, and to which it is needless to add others, after our Queen has assur'd both houses of Parliament, that she doubts not of their serious and steddy resolutions to prosecute the advantages we have gain'd by our glorious successes last Summer, till we reap the desir'd fruit of them in an honourable and durable peace: and that therefore, if we be not wanting to our selves, we may upon good grounds hope to see such a Balance of Power establish'd in*  
*Europe.*

## DISSERTATION. XXIX

*Europe, that it shall no longer be at the Pleasure of one Prince to disturb the repose and endanger the Liberty of this part of the World. This Declaration was receiv'd with the acclamations of all her people, the whole house of Lords rejecting any Scheme of Peace, but what may be durable and lasting; by reducing effectually the exorbitant power of a Prince, whose restless ambition nothing cou'd satisfy, and who has always despis'd the obligations of the most sacred Leagues and Treaties. The house of Commons resolve, without one negative, that no specious pretences of Peace shall divert them from their steddly resolutions of enabling the Royal Majesty to improve in all places the advantages of this successful Campaign. And every body crys without doors, that there's*

### XXX A PRELIMINARY

no ballancing in the Case, whether we shall carry on the war a year or two longer, and then enjoy a lasting Tranquillity; or be forc'd to begin the war again three or four years hence, by giving the common Enemy time now to breath, and just granting him peace when he wants to recruit. As for the difficulty and uncertainty of procureing such a potent alliance another time, or such a vast quantity of military stores as are already prepar'd to our hands; not to dwell on a thing of that evidence, as the riches of England oppos'd to the poverty of France, or the indisputable superiority of our Generalls and Soldiers over theirs: all these, I say, are exprest so much to the life in the Oration it self, that it were certainly unpardonable to anticipate the Reader. I only beg leave to draw this inference  
from



## DISSERTATION. XXXI

from the whole, that no man in England cou'd reasonably hope for an excuse from the rest for desiring peace at this time, but the only man that's above all suspicion of doing it; I mean his highness the Prince of MINDELHEIM, who has so great a stock of Glory to risk, when at the same time nothing can be added to his fame.

III. So much for the Occasion, and now for the Author; tho' no labour seems to me more superfluous, than the eager hunt and enquiry after Authors, when in equity we shou'd only carefully examin what is written, and not be very solicitous about him who wrote it; for, after the manner that men are commonly dispos'd, the knowledge of an Author's person may often create a better or a worse opinion of his writing than

## xxxii APRELIMINARY

it deserves. Nevertheless, to comply with Custom, rather than to gratify my own Inclination, I have with all imaginable diligence sought after the Author of this Oration I am now publishing. He not only speaks in the Person of a foreigner, but undoubtedly was so: for Learning was but just dawning then in England, tho' afterwards, under the propitious influence of HENRY, EDWARD, and ELIZABETH, it has illustrated the whole Island, with a never decaying splendour. Neither MORE nor LINACRE wrote so well. ERASMUS was here at that time; but, not to alledge the disparity of Stile, he address'd a letter to the Abbot of SAINT BERTIN against this very war with France: and in several other of his Works (some of them written for this end, as his

Querela

## DISSERTATION. xxxiii

Querela Pacis) he exprest an utter detestation of the Wars whereby Europe was then disturb'd. In France no man can be suppos'd to write such a piece if he cou'd, as few were able to do it; for however displeas'd he might be with his King, he wou'd never write so unmerciful a Satyr against his nation. I am wholly at a Loss where to fix it in Germany, tho' there wanted not some pens that were equal to the undertaking. But in Italy, where learning had longer flourish'd, and where the EMPEROUR and the King of Spain had retainers enough among the Sons of APOLLO, there were not a few that had both inclination and ability for such a thing; and I shou'd sooner suspect MATTHEW SCHINER, Bishop and Cardinall of Sion, than any of the rest. 'Tis plain that our Orator speaks in a manner that  
agrees



### XXXIV A PRELIMINARY

*agrees in every point with this Cardinal's Character. He mortally hated the French Nation and Government, which was enough to recommend him to the favour of Pope JULIUS, who preferr'd him by degrees, 'till at last, in the year 1511, he created him a Cardinal, with seven other prelates (says MEZERAY) considerable for their Learning or their Interest. SION, from whence he had his birth and title, in Latin Sedunum, is the capitall citie of those Vallies situated between Switzerland, Savoy, and the Dutchy of Milan, being a Republick by themselves, and in League both with the Grisons and the Switzers. JOVIUS, in the eleventh book of his History, calls him a man of a terrible genius and extraordinary Eloquence: and, in the fifth book of his Elogies (where he mis-*  
*calls*



## DISSERTATION. XXXV

*calls him MATTHEW LANG) his Eloquence he says was admir'd not only by the Germans, but also by the Italians. MEZERAY (as we saw before) owns that he mov'd the Switzers, as the wind does the leaves of trees. And 'tis most notorious that he led'em whithersoever he pleas'd, not seldom without a penny in their Pockets, when all the Treasure of France cou'd not seduce a man of'em: and if this be not a sufficient Demonstration of his Eloquence, I know not what can; being also a Confutation of the noted Proverb, no Mony no Swiss. The Eloquence of this Cardinall (says VARILLAS) wrought an effect, which has few precedents among the greatest Orators. He levy'd in Switzerland 18000 Warlike Soldiers, for just as many livres that he had receiv'd, the Confederates*

## xxxvi A PRELIMINARY

derates not being in a capacity of sending him more than this small sum. And Posterity will not easily believe, *continues he*, that so many mercenary Souls cou'd sell themselves for twenty Pence a head, tho' nothing be more true. *But you forget, VARILLA'S, that Lyars ought to have good Memories: for how cou'd the Switzers do this out of a Mercenary temper? when you your self a little before (as well as MEZERAY, and the rest of the French Historians) acknowledge, that all the efforts of LEWIS cou'd not reconcile them to his cause or person, tho' he offer'd to double and treble the Sums they used to receive from France in the days of his Predecessors. Such power indeed had the Cardinal's Eloquence over his Country-men, that they made him their*  
General

## DISSERTATION. XXXVII

*General and JAMES STAFFLER*  
*his Lieutenant. He did such con-*  
*siderable services to Pope JULIUS,*  
*that he loaded him with honours,*  
*made him Legat of the holy See,*  
*and General of his Armies, whereof*  
*he enjoy'd the credit without under-*  
*going the trouble; for on no account*  
*wou'd he relinquish the Command of*  
*his braver and more numerous Swit-*  
*zers. He and CHRISTOPHER*  
*BAMBRIDG Cardinal of York,*  
*are reported by GUICCIARDIN*  
*to have strenuously oppos'd receiving*  
*the Cardinals of the Pisan Council*  
*to Grace upon their Submission.*  
*MATTHEW made warm ha-*  
*rangues against them, and neither*  
*CHRISTOPHER nor he wou'd*  
*be present at the Ceremony. There*  
*was a strict Correspondence between*  
*him and our Court; for HENRY*  
*(as was said before) remitted great*  
*f sums*

### xxxviii A PRELIMINARY

*sums to the Switzers, who, under the Cardinal's conduct, defended MAXIMILIAN SFORZA in his Dutchy of Milan against the French, fighting the two bloody battles of Navara and Marignan, in the latter of which he had the honour to have King LEWIS the twelfth General of the other side. He came likewise with the Switzers that made an Irruption in our favour into Burgandy; nor was it his fault that they departed so soon, liveing at vast expense to oblige 'em the more. At the investiture of MAXIMILIAN, he perform'd the Ceremony of presenting him with the Keys of Milan, as the conqueror and protector of that Dutchy; telling RAYMOND DE CORDONA, Viceroy of Naples (who contested this matter with him) that, if he persisted, he must expect to have their difference decided by  
the*



## DISSERTATION. XXXIX

the sword: whereupon CARDONA, not thinking it adviseable to hazard his own person or his Master's army for a Punctilio of honour, quitted the town and the solemnity. In our Archives I find King HENRY's Agent in Italy begging to be recommended in a special manner to this Cardinal, as the spring that put all in motion. In fine, what by his Tongue and what by his Sword, he arriv'd at length to that pitch of credit, that Pope JULIUS a little before his Death express'd some Jealousy, lest he might depose MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, and give what Duke he wou'd to Milan, or rather seize it for himself. He assisted Pope LEO in the recovery of Parma and Placentia, driveing the French under LAUTREC once more out of Milan, and enlargeing (as he found

f 2 oppor-

## XL A PRELIMINARY

*opportunity) the bounds of his own countrey. JOVIUS, in his Elo- gies, says, that he himself had heard FRANCIS the first affirm, that the invincible force of the Cardinal of Sion's Eloquence cost him more treasure, and occasion'd him more fear, than the pointed spears of so many Legions from the same nation: a glorious testimony generously render'd to his wonderfull ability from so learn'd and martial a Prince! Now therefore, considering his antipathy to the French, his affection for the cause of the EMPEROR, his power with the Switzers, his intercourse with England, the information he might receive from his friend the Archbishop of York, and especially considering his polite Learning and incomparable Eloquence, I confess I cannot help persuading my self that this Oration*

## DISSERTATION. xli

tion was of his writing. It better agrees with his character and designs, than with any other then living. No competent Judge, after he has read it all over, will say it was the production of a mere scholar: the author must have been as much a states-man as a scholar, and as much a soldier as a states-man. But still I only speak by such conjectures, as to me appear most probable; leaving every body else to his own fancy, or a more lucky discovery.

IV. AS for the Notes I have subjoin'd, few of them are Philological, several Political, and the most part Historical. I think it as ridiculous to be explaining modern books by parallel words or phrases out of antient authors (which is only a useful method in commenting on those

## xlii A PRELIMINARY

those antient authors themselves, to show their difference of age or stile, and to illustrate 'em one by another) as impertinent, I say, as the tedious and barren Lectures of Morality, which Criticks intermix with their Grammatical Notes on the Classics: as if all readers were not to make such inferences to themselves; for might not learn them with infinitely more advantage out of books that treat expressly of such matters. It is excuse enough for the political Notes, that, men not being every where agreed on those points, I took this opportunity to do all the publick service my Argument wou'd permit. In the Historical Notes (which will be acknowledg'd necessary without any dispute) I have always form'd the story out of the writers of every side; making it short enough to come within the compass



## DISSERTATION. xliii

pass of a Note, but circumstantial enough to make my author intelligible. Where the fact was doubtfull or invidious, I produc'd my authority in the Note it self: but, in things not so subject to be contested, I have avoided that trouble. However, I here advertise the reader, that, besides JOVIUS, BUCHANAN, VARRILLAS, and several other Historians of more or less credit, I have principally made use of GUICCIARDIN for the Italian, MEZE-  
RAY for the French, and HERBERT, for the English affairs. In one one or two places I have, on the words of this last, referr'd to our Archives; but I have since had the opportunity my self of perusing the Treaty between HENRY and LEWIS, the originall Instructions given by the former, several Letters of their own and their ministers hand-writing,

## xliv A PRELIMINARY

*ting, and particularly those of the Duke of LONGUEVILLE. I am therefore more confirm'd than ever in my assertion (Pag. 29, 30.) concerning the Tribute due to us from France, which I hope will be requir'd, ay and exacted at the next treaty of Peace (as well as more favourable conditions to Trade, which was not then so truly understood or valu'd) with a round sum for arrears since the death of HENRY the eighth: for provided our Queen gets the money, the French may call it what name they please; since that of Tribute is so offensive to their tender ears. 'Tis pleasant to hear VARILLAS discourse about this matter; and if the very turn he gives it does not effectually perswade the Reader that it was a Tribute, I am extreamly mistaken. The most Christian Kings (says he) after having driven the English out of Normandy*

## DISSERTATION. xlv

*mandy and Guienne, thought it adviseable to comfort them for this loss by a Pension of fifty thousand Livres, which for some time was punctually enough paid. But afterwards the English made that a subject of vanity, which cou'd not but turn to their shame. They call'd that a Tribute which was but a Liberality; and publish't over all the world, that the French durst not deny but they had once been their Subjects, since they still continu'd to be their Tributaries. And so he proceeds (agreeable to other Historians) to relate how LEWIS was oblig'd to pay HENRY six hundred thousand Crowns at six several payments, part whereof was to discharge the Arrears of what he calls a Pension and we a Tribute. As for the several Princes mention'd in the Notes or in this Discourse, I have,*

## xlvi A PRELIMINARY

*without any byass of fear or favour, freely and faithfully represented them for such as they were ; not sparing (for Example) to tax the vices of HENRY, nor refusing justice to the virtues of LEWIS, where either of them deserv'd such characters. And with regard to this last, the Motto of one of his Coins, inserted in the Notes, Page 69, shou'd not be, as it is there, Perdam Babylonem, I shall destroy Babylon; but Perdam Babylonis Nomen, I shall destroy the Name of Babylon.*

*BUT I shall detain the Reader no longer from the pleasure of perusing the Oration it self, where, instead of King HENRY, he'll be apt to imagine that he finds Addresses made to Queen ANNE, as the deliverer and abitress of Europe, inexpressibly belov'd and respected by her Allies,*



## DISSERTATION. *xlvii*

Allies, dreaded but admir'd by her Enemies, and only not ador'd by her own Subjects. There he may read the Character of her Captain Generall, crown'd with the immortal Laurels of numerous Conquests, rescuing whole Countries from Tyranny, restoring injur'd Princes to their Dominions, defending others against a formidable Usurpation, and receiv'ing unusual honours (both at home and abroad) as the just reward of his heroick virtue. There he may see her Treasurer, her Secretaries, her Council, supporting the honour of their country and their own, by such Resolution, Skill, and Industry, by so equitable, prudent, and faithfull a Discharge of their several Offices: that all good Subjects do no less readily than gratefully proclaim (what the most disaffected have not the front either impudently to deny or foolishly

## xlviïi A PRELIMINARY

*foolishly to extenuate) that the publick  
Treasure was never so ably manag'd  
nor so fairly apply'd; that the Secrets  
of the Government were never so well  
kept, nor all Dispatches more speedily or  
regularly made; that such a perfect  
unanimity never appear'd in our Privy-  
Councils, without excepting those  
of the great HENRY or his greater  
off-spring ELIZABETH; that Ju-  
stice was never more uncorruptly or  
impartially distributed; and, in a  
word, that the interest, wealth, and  
power of England, were never so  
successfully promoted by any PAR-  
LIAMENT or MINISTRY.*

[ 1 ]

A

*Philippic Oration*

To incite the

ENGLISH

Against the

FRENCH.

**I**T is an ancient custom (my  
Lords and Gentlemen) and in-  
stituted from the very begin-  
ning of the world, not with more so-  
lid reasons, than it has been always  
approv'd by most prosperous suc-  
cesses; that for sustaining the  
cares of Government, and  
H for

for the management of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, those shou'd be particularly chosen out of all, who appear to excell the rest, as well in every other good quality, as more especially in the Art of (1)

(1) *Livy* tells us that the Privy Counsellors of the *Etolians*, who consisted of select Persons, were by them call'd *Apolecti*, from a *Greek* word that signifies *Culling* or *Picking*; and therefore the very name is an argument, that they were chosen out of all the rest, rather for their known Capacity and Experience, than with regard to the uncertain advantages of Fortune. And certainly this custom shou'd never be antiquated. For 'tis not enough that a Minister of State be a wise and diligent person, unless he's such a competent master of the principal arts both of Peace and War, as to be a discerning Judge of men, and this to such a degree as to manifest his own abilities by distinguishing theirs.

Pru-



**Prudence.** For 'tis **PRUDENCE** alone ( seeing she ought not so much to be call'd a Virtue, as the parent of all Virtues ) that by vigilance and foresight, that by weighing the future by the past, and by comparing the past with the present, takes care of every thing both at home and abroad, and that daily advances the whole in wealth and reputation. But tho' the duties of it be so many and so excellent ; yet to remember past transactions, to forecast the future, or maturely and nicely to judge of the present, do not seem ( in my Opinion ) so much to regard true **PRUDENCE**, nor to contribute so much to the right and happy government of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as to discern the **OPPORTUNITY** of

every thing that happens, and straight to lay hold of it when discern'd: for tho' OPPORTUNITY be the daughter of Time alone, yet she's the mother of all good things, if we do but embrace her when offer'd; she's the mistress of affairs, the queen of human actions, the accomplisher of wishes, the disposer of riches and power; and finally that alone which renders men partakers of gladness, praise, glory, and honour. The Poets, who always insinuate some portion of divine wisdom under the pleasing covers of their fictions, pretend that the head of OPPORTUNITY is (2) hairy before and bald behind, having one companion constantly attending her

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(2) *Fronte capillata est, post est Occasio calva.*

whom

whom they call **REPENTANCE**; an old hag indeed, and slow of pace, as **OPPORTUNITY** her self is most swift; that therefore if you do not immediately catch hold of her when she freely presents her self, you'll stretch your Hands in vain after her when she has once turn'd her Back, and is pass'd on before you, since she's bald behind and slipper-ry; and that when she's quite fled away, then **REPENTANCE**, the avengress of human Sloth remains with us, inflicting durable punishments for the neglect we shew'd her sister. Wherefore (right honourable Lords) seeing your incomparable King has chosen you for his Companions and Counsellors, to sustain the weight, and to manage the reins of his most potent Kingdom; not so much dispos'd thereto by your extraordinary In-

terest, by the greatness of your Riches, or by the splendor of your Families (all which do yet most abundantly concur in your (3) persons) as he was induc'd by the integrity of your Manners, and by the sincerity of your allegiance, but chiefly by his opinion of your singular wisdom, and the well-known reach of your capacity : It

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(3) Tho' great Birth, Estate, and Credit, ought not to recommend Men to the Ministry, so much as Honesty, Prudence, and Industry ; yet such as are endow'd with the former advantages shou'd be preferr'd to all others, if they truly possess these latter Virtues : not merely as the distinction of several ranks (the grand secret of Government) is thus best preserv'd, but likewise as such persons afford the greatest pledges of Fidelity, and will be therefore most ready and hearty to preserve their country.



is therefore your duty to study diligently both night and day, and to apply the whole force of your understanding to this one thing; namely, that as you are deem'd by all men to be the very re-  
 fidence of Loyalty, and every other Virtue; so they may perceive that all your designs and determinations are full of PRU-  
 DENCE (she alone being the most exact ruler of Kingdoms) and that in the mean time you do improve the wealth and power of your Prince and Nation, by your Industry, Courage,

and perspicuous (4) Counsels. This, in my Judgment, you may easily compass, if, proposing for your Imitation the Examples of the Ancients, you duely examin of what consequence on both sides is

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(4) As from the very beginning our Author shows for what qualities men ought to be selected from among their equals to be Ministers of State; so here in a few words he tells 'em their duty, which is not only to employ their Fidelity, Prudence, Courage, and Discernment in the personal service of their Prince, and to fill his private Coffers, in which they are commonly observ'd to be diligent enough; but likewise to be intent on the publick Interest, and continually encreasing the riches and power of the Nation, which indeed is the most effectual way of serving a good Prince; for certainly he's a bad one that has a separate Interest from his People, who envies their wealth, or who fears their power, and who thinks he can ever want while their purses are full.

that

that very **OPPORTUNITY** of which I spoke, either when she's let slip by **NEGLIGENCE**, or laid hold on by **PRUDENCE**. For certainly, if you revolve in your minds old Annals and ancient Histories, among the most glorious achievements of all Generals, Kings, and Nations, none were ever found or greater or more admirable, than such as were perform'd by the encouragement of **OPPORTUNITY**. Of this let the Island (5) *Salamin* be a witness, the

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(5) *Salamin* (now call'd *Coluri*) is an Island of the *Archipelago*, formerly belonging to the Common-wealth of *Athens*; near to which the Fleet of *Xerxes*, king of *Persia*, consisting of 1200 ships of War and 2000 transports, was totally beaten and destroy'd by *Themistocles*, Admiral of the confederate fleet of the *Grecians*, consisting only of 300 ships. But he so posted himself

the spectatrix of that memorable victory, when THEMISTOCLES, being only favour'd by the Advantage of the place, did with a very few ships so entirely ruin the fleet of XERXES ( which scarce the Seas cou'd contain, to use the liberty of the Greeks ) that the King himself did hardly escape destruction in a fisher-boat, which as the Poet has it,

(6) *Did make small way midst floating Carcasses.*

self in the streights between the Island and the continent, that he cou'd not be surrounded, nor yet attackt with unequal numbers, which was the chief cause of his glorious victory. But since the Poets and Historians, have made it so common a theme, I need not dwell on the Land-army of Xerxes, amounting to between 7 and 800000 Men, nor on whole rivers they drunk dry, nor his bridge of boats over the Hellepont, nor his madly cutting the Isthmus of mount Athos.

(6) *Tardâ per densa cadavera prorâ.*

Wit-



Witness likewise *Spain* of old, when first she saw **PUBLIUS** and **CNÆUS SCIPIO**,

(7) *Those two thunderbolts of war,*  
 slain by means of *Occasion* offering it self to their enemies, and the same *Occasion* quickly after removing to the *Romans*, there were likewise seen two most powerful armies of the *Spaniards*, destroy'd in one night by (8) **LUCIUS MAR-**

(7) The two *Scipios* kill'd by the *Carthaginians* in *Spain* in the Year of *Rome* 542, were *Cnæus* and *Publius Scipio*, the sons of *Cnæus Cornelius Scipio*, surnam'd *Asina*. But I fancy *Virgil* means *Publius* and *Lucius Scipio*, the first surnam'd *Africanns* and the second *Asiaticus*, being the sons of that *Publius Scipio* kill'd in *Spain*; tho' the Poet might well have both pair of brothers in his Eye.

(8) This *Lucius Martius* was only a *Roman* knight, and the whole transaction may be read in the 25th book of *Livy*.

TIUS,

rius, with the few and half-arm'd remains of that very defeat. I might superabound with examples of this kind on all hands; were it not that one, who in a most clear case relies on a multitude of witnesses, seems to me to act, as if (according to the proverb) he discharg'd his artillery against cobwebs. For, is there any man who knows not, that OPPORTUNITY do's principally influence affairs, as well in every thing besides, as more particularly in matters of War? But some body will demand what I mean, by declaring my opinion how much OPPORTUNITY is to be priz'd, and by demonstrating that it is of so great moment in all undertakings? I answer, that I only mean this one thing, which is to let you know, that from the first

first time your ancestors began to settle in this Island, never did so fair an Occasion offer it self to the *English* ( provided you'll please but to show your selves men ) to be aveng'd on the *French*, the perpetual enemies of your nation, to assert the rights of your King, and to purchase for your selves eternal fame and honour; I say never so great an OPPORTUNITY, as that which at this time (9) happens

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(9) Then certainly was the time to recover our former possessions in *France*, if ever to do so cou'd be judg'd for our interest,

pens not lightly or by chance, but is, by the providence of the most high and most powerful God, sent you expressly down from Heaven.

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nerest, wherein I'll determine nothing. But now I am sure is the fittest time (as the best of Queens tells us in her Speech to the Parliament) *to restore the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria, whereof the consequences will not only be safe and advantageous, but glorious for England: and therefore it is likewise the time to reduce the French to such a condition, as neither to engross the Trade and Wealth of the world (to use the words of our most wise Queen) nor to be ready to break any Peace they make on the first opportunity of dividing the Allies, or attacking some of them with advantage: And lastly, it is the most seasonable time for Englishmen to shew that they truly hold the balance of Europe, and that they are of all others fittest to enjoy that honour.*

NOW,



NOW, in resolving on a War, we are first directed by the *Christian* doctrine, and next by the example of the *Romans* ( who greatly delighted in justice ) to see before all things (10), that we take up arms according to Right and Justice, but not from the lust of Empire, or to trample on the weak : for nothing is truer than that of the Poet,

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(10) No body can doubt the Justice of the present War on our side, since we don't preten'd to conquer one acre of ground for our selves, but only to see right done to others, and to preserve all from slavery. I need not superfluously alledge the perfidious breach of solemn Treaties, nor the setting up of an Impostor to affront the title of our lawful Queen, and against the establish'd succession of the Crown, which is solely determinable by our own Laws.

(11) The

(11) *The Cause do's press or raise  
a Soldier's heart,*

*Which if unjust, he drops his  
arms for shame.*

When you are thus satisfy'd in the  
CAUSE of the War, then you  
must consider such things as are  
necessary for carrying it on. And  
when all these appear to corre-  
spond to the credit of the enter-  
prize, and to be completely suffi-  
cient ; then know for certain, that  
very time is the OPPORTU-  
NITY given you for action :  
which if you embrace, it will ren-  
der you masters of Riches, Ho-  
nour, and Fame ; but if you neglect  
it, you'll soon, yet in vain, hate and

---

(11) *Frangit & attollit vires in milite Causa,  
Quæ nisi iusta subest, exculit arma pudor.*

Propert. lib. 4. El. 6.

accuse

accuse their own Sloth, and be in vain tormented with Grief and REPENTANCE.

I SHALL not discourse of the (12) CAUSE of the war, seeing that how just it is, how pious, nay how full of glory it must needs be to you, is much more evident than to require the least debate; unless any perhaps is so foolish, as to desire it shou'd be prov'd to him by arguments, that it is lawful

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(12) The War being already proclaim'd and begun the year before, there was no necessity (no more than at present) to insist on the Cause of it. But the means of carrying it on, and the reasonableness of continuing it, are the principal argument of our Author's discourse; and he says nothing to prove it, but what's as valid in our present case, or indeed much more.

I

for

for you to have recourse to arms, when, after fairly by Embassadors demanding your own from those who unjustly detain them, you have nothing avail'd: Or unless the same person wants a demonstration (13), that it ought to be counted a pious and holy thing to take up arms in defence of the Christian Religion, the Orthodox Faith, and the

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(13) The two Causes alledg'd on our part (as I related in the Preface) were, first the restitution of *Guienne, Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine*, our ancient patrimony in *France*; and then, the defence of the *Pope* and the *Church* against *Lewis* the 12th and the *Council of Pisa*.

Wor-



Worship of God, against that very person, who is an enemy and injurious to you, who makes war upon the holy *Roman* Church, and contrives the destruction of him that is the Vicegerent of our Redeemer on earth. But, laying aside the CAUSE of the war, than which you cou'd not possibly have a more just or holy, let us proceed to those other things which are requisite for carrying on of wars, of all which unless I be able to show that you have in every respect an extraordinary affluence, I shall not hinder, but that, slighting the designs of a war, you wholly betake yourselves to peace and delights.

'TIS the unanimous opinion of all men, That, I. numerous forces, II. valiant soldiers, III. skilful generals, and IV. an unstinted plenty of mony, are the principal necessities for carrying on of wars.

THAT we may therefore methodically begin with the first, pray, what nation is there on earth ( without envy be it spoken ) that in multitudes of men can be compar'd with your *Britain*? What land is more (14) popu-

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(14) To be populous is the certain sign of a free country, whither people are al-  
lur'd to resort from other places for the  
security of their persons and goods, and  
where all men live so happily, and have  
such encouragement for Industry, that they  
must needs marry more frequently than  
where they cannot be sure of leaving any  
thing

populous? What country more  
fertil in brave men? Where are  
there cities better stockt with inha-  
bitants? Where are the villages,  
where are the boroughs, or where  
indeed are the very houses fuller  
(15) of people? You cannot turn  
your self to the right-hand or the

---

thing to their posterity, or where they  
have the dismal prospect of only beget-  
ting Slaves doom'd to labor and want,  
and (what's yet more intolerable) to be  
employ'd in the vilest drudgeries under an  
insolent Tyrant, who thinks 'em only born  
for his pleasure, scarce allowing them to  
be Men.

(15) The most potent and flourishing Re-  
public of *Holland* was not then erected, where  
the cities, boroughs, and villages are more  
numerous, than in any part of the like ex-  
tent in the whole world. And 'tis undeniable  
that the populousness of *England* and the  
*Seven united Provinces*, as well as their  
wealth and power, do wholly proceed  
from their form of Government; for their  
Trade is but an effect of their Liberty.

left, you cannot look before or behind you, but you must see like swarms of bees, crowds of young men appear, out of which you may lift and muster what forces you will, according to your fanſie. ALEXANDER us'd to ſay, that he thought thirty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, to be an army numerous enough, with which he durſt undertake any the greateſt or moſt difficult expeditions. Now, this was ſaid by that ſame ALEXANDER who routed DARIUS, and ſtrippt him of his kingdom, tho' at the head of above two hundred thouſand men; and who made priſoner in battle PORUS king of *India*, conſiding in an infinite number of ſoldiers and (16) elephants. But,

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(16) Concerning which Actions, ſee *Plutarch, Strabo, Arrian, Quintus Curtius*, and other *Historians*.

thro'



thro' the goodness of God, 'tis a most easy thing for you to arm by one Proclamation, not thirty, but (17) ten times thirty thousand men. But what men! of what stature! how strong! how stout! lastly, what generous despisers of

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(17) Standing armies and mercenary soldiers were but new things then in *Europe*, begun by *Lewis* the eleventh, king of *France*, and by *Charles* the bold, duke of *Burgundy*, but quickly imitated by most other Princes and States. The Militia of each country was before that time in the men of property according to the policy of the *Romans*, but dispos'd after the *Gothick Model*; the Nobles owing certain military services to the Prince, and the Commons owing the like to the Nobles, according to the several Tenures of their land. All *England* therefore being regulated after this manner, 'twas no hyperbolical flight of Oratory to say it cou'd raise 300000 Men, which may be done still, and a great deal more, if any one were so rash as to invade us at home.

light and (18) life! Such as have left rules to posterity concerning military affairs, are of advice, in lifting raw soldiers, to chuse 'em with large muscles, brawny arms, and broad breasts. When therefore I behold the *Brittish* youth, I cannot but be of opinion, that either they alone, or none in the world besides, seem to be only born

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(18) All the Historians of all nations bear witness to the *English* boldness and courage, and to such a degree, that even the most emulous neighbours acknowledge our very brute animals, as horses, dogs, and cocks, to excel all others of their kind. And 'tis certain our cocks (no less than our dogs and horses) grow dastardly and degenerate when once remov'd out of the Island. Travellers therefore on their first coming do highly admire our Cock-fighting, and other fights of beasts, but especially the prize-matches of our fencers, who, provided they spare life, are not to spare for blood.

for

for the exercise of Arms. I appeal for witness to so many Annals, to so many Histories of the actions you have perform'd from the oldest ages to these our present times. Have you not read how two brothers, BRENNUS and BELLINUS, equally relying on the multitude and valour of their *British* soldiers, after having pass'd, and in a manner forc'd the fences of the ocean (with which you are encompass'd on all sides) did (19) con-

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(19) *Brennus* a most famous leader of the *Gauls*, after over-running a great part of *Italy*, did in the 364th Year after the building of the city, shamefully beat the *Romans* near *Allia*, whence the very name of that river was ever afterwards counted unlucky, and as such inserted in their *Calendars*. Then marching straight to *Rome*, he pillag'd all and 'burnt a considerable part of it, killing those who cou'd not save themselves

conquer almost all *Italy*, and sack'd *Rome* her self the mistress of the world? With what soldiers was this achiev'd, with what forces, or with whose power and courage, unless of the (20) *Brittains*? But

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selves in the *Capitol*, or fled not to other cities. But while he was receiving 1000 pound weight of gold from the *Romans* under *Manlius* as a composition to raise the siege, he was surpriz'd by *Camillus*, and his army partly destroy'd and partly scatter'd, tho' some faithful Historians are silent about this particular, or did not believe it.

(20) Some fabulous Historians of the *Brittains* will needs make *Brennus* a king of this Island, who likewise possess part of *Gaul*; and that *Brennus* was an appellative not a proper name, *Brennin* signifying in their language a king: so that they will have it understood to be the king and his brother *Bellinus*, which they confirm by the other *Brennus* of the same nation, who ravag'd *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, and a great part of



I relate things too remote. King ARTHUR, a prince never enough to be commended, with what other soldiers did he shake off from your necks the yoke of the (21) *Romans*? With what forces, with what arms

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of Greece, the second year of the 125th Olympiad, and who with his army perisht before the temple of *Delphos*. However, *Brennus* and *Bellinus* being deem'd princes of *Brittain*, and many *English* writers taking up the same conceit (tho' they ought to consider, that the *Gaulish* and *Brittish* tongue being the same, no argument cou'd be drawn from thence to any side) our Orator might, according to the rules of his Art lawfully do us honour on this account.

(21) Tho' I doubt not but *Arthur* was a valiant and war-like prince, yet the fame of his exploits has been so much exaggerated beyond truth, and his knights of the round table is a Legend so void of all probability, that many have call'd the whole in question.

but

but those of the *English*, did (22) RICHARD ( who from his courage was furnam'd *Cœur de lion* ) perform so many famous exploits at *Jerusalem*, and cover the fields of that sacred ground with innumerable slaughters? I come to things of a fresher date. Did not (23) ED-

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(22) *Richard* the first went on a Croisade to the Holy Land ( as they call *Palestine* ) together with *Philip Augustus*, king of *France*, and some other princes, in the year 1191. But *Philip*, pretending some dissatisfaction, return'd the same year. *Richard* in the mean time conquer'd *Cyprus*, defeated *Saladin*, and won eternal renown by his gallant actions.

(23) *Edward* the third, after the death of his uncle *Charles* the fair, pretended to the Regency, and even to the Crown of *France* by the *Salick Law*. He won the battle of *Cressy* in the year 1346, wherein the *French* confess to have lost 30000 Foot, 12000 Horse, 80 Standards, with the kings brother, and a world of other princes and nobles. Against

EDWARD III. and (24) HENRY V.  
leave *France* (25) a tributary King-

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gainst K. *John* he gain'd the battle of *Poitiers*  
Anno 1356, where *John* being taken pri-  
soner, was led captive into *England*, and  
releas'd about four years after.

(24) *Henry* the 5th won the battle of  
*Agincourt*, Anno 1415, and, after obtaining  
many other advantages, he was triumphant-  
ly receiv'd by the citizens of *Paris*, and  
marry'd *Catharine*, the daughter of *Charles*  
the sixth, with her father and mother's con-  
sent. He was likewise acknowledg'd law-  
ful heir of the kingdom, *Charles* the seventh  
being excluded; tho' almost all was lost  
by his son *Henry* the sixth, who yet was  
solemnly crown'd at *Paris*.

(25) Tho' *Philip de Comines* cou'd not  
deny but the Kings of *England*, for almost  
two ages together, had a great sum of  
mony yearly paid them from *France* (be-  
sides many Largeesses to gain the favour of  
their courtiers) yet he will have it to be  
a Pension, though it really was what the  
*English* call'd it, a Tribute, and paid with-  
out intermission till the death of *Henry* the  
VIIIth,

dom to *England*, after they had subdu'd it by their own and the valour of their *English* soldiers? But why shou'd I repeat the actions of former times? when this very year 'tis become equally apparent to your selves and to all foreigners, how many thousands of soldiers may be rais'd in *Brittain*, and how far the *Brittish* soldiers exceed all other nations in courage. Your

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VIIIth, whose father receiv'd yearly fifty thousand Ducats. *Lewis* the XIIth agreed to pay himself 100000 Crowns *per Annum* for six years, and his successor *Francis* was oblig'd to pay him a million of Crowns at several payments, which *Polydore Virgil* calls *pretium pro pace* which is a Tribute, or I know not what is so. Nor is it to be forgot, that as often as the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Charles* desir'd aid of *Henry* against the *French* ( which was more than once or twice ) they engag'd to secure all Sums which the *French* were to pay the *English* kings for ever.

invin-



invincible King transported into *France* about (26) sixty thousand men in arms, by which multitude not only *Brittain*, but almost all *Europe*, might seem to be drain'd of stout (27) men. But the *Scots* at the same time making a sudden (28) Invasion, might not the whole  
Island

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(26) *Guicciardin* says, that he had 80000 soldiers at the siege of *Tournay*.

(27) This is said, because they were only men of property that went to the wars: for it cou'd not be properly any wast of men to send or press away sixty thousand vagabonds, thieves, or other idle fellows.

(28) We shall discourse about this inroad a little lower. But in the mean while I cannot but take notice of something that will not seem foreign to the present time or occasion. Before the two *Brittish* kingdoms were under the government of one prince, *Scotland* was a ready backdoor, from whence the *French*, the perpetual enemies of the  
*English*

Island be thought exhausted of  
 foldiers? Nevertheless by levies  
 made in a hurry, there were thir-  
 ty thousand men within the space  
 of four days under their colours.  
 But some body may object, that  
 this was a weak rabble, and en-

*Invitation to the Scots to join the English* (82)

*English*, us'd by clandestin means to disturb  
 our Councils; or whence the *Scots* them-  
 selves, whenever we openly invaded the  
*French*, endeavour'd, without any denunci-  
 ation of war, to make a diversion in their  
 favour: which proceeding tho' always  
 proving to their damage, yet never turn'd  
 to our profit. Wherefore, as well to pre-  
 vent the like inconveniences for the future,  
 as for diverse weighty political reasons (con-  
 cerning the succession of the Crown, the  
 increase of Trade, and maintaining the  
 empire of the Sea) 'tis not in the least to  
 be doubted, but that all wise and good men  
 will improve the present opportunity of  
 uniting us at last into one Nation and one  
 Government, as we are already inhabitants  
 of the same Island and professors of the same  
 Religion.

tirely

tirely ( 29 ) ignorant of military discipline. Yes, they were such a rabble, that the forces under the King compell'd some of the strongest ( 30 ) cities in *France* to surrender, they did more than once oblige the armies of the enemy to fly, and fill'd all *France* with consternation: those who march'd against the *Scots* ( tho' but a few joining battle against superiour numbers ) yet at the first onset they gave the enemy a very great defeat, and the King himself being kill'd with most

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( 29 ) But their behaviour show'd, that either the militia was in those days better modell'd and exercis'd than at present, or that they are at no time inferior to regular troops in the defence of their country.

( 30 ) He means *Teroane* and *Tournay*, of which, and the other actions here mention'd, we'll give an account in their places.

K

of

of the *Scottish* Nobility, they did but thus execute upon 'em the just revenge of their nefarious treachery. From all this it appears clearer than the sun, that, thro' God's mercy, there is no prince in *Christendom* who can bring into the field more numerous forces, or in greater reputation for their courage, than your King.

NOW it remains that we discourse concerning the SKILL and VALOUR of the Commanders, as well as concerning the plenty of MONY, and the means to procure it; whereof the first is to be so much consider'd in making of war, that (31) CHABRIAS, no

con-

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(31) *Chabrias* perform'd many noble exploits in *Greece* and *Agypt*: he's particularly noted



contemptible General of the *Athenians*, was wont to say, that he had rather have an army of Stags with a Lion for their General, than an army of Lions with a Stag at their head: and the second has been thought so absolutely necessary in waging of wars, that by a common proverb many has of a long time been call'd the only sinew of war. But first I shall touch on this last point, or rather be silent about it, that I may not tediously insist on a very plain subject. For none can be found who is ignorant (unless one perhaps who is ignorant of every thing) that *England* do's eminently abound in gold and silver; none

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noted for this saying, highly extoll'd by *Demosthenes*, and his life is written by *Cornelius Nepos*.

who do's not know, that, when need requires it, there are not (32) greater duties and taxes paid to Princes in any country whatsoever, nor in any country are they levy'd with greater facility. This I dare

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(32) 'Tis past controversy, that no country, except the *United Netherlands*, raises more money than *England*, because they have more to give, as they have more to lose or save, than all others. And 'tis as certain that those duties are always peaceably rais'd, because they are granted and impos'd by the people themselves, who by the supreme Magistrate are made acquainted with the occasion, and they left Judges of the necessity. Wherefore they are sure to lay them in proportion to every man's property. But in countries under absolute government, you cannot raise much unless in a manner you raise all; and such taxes are not willingly paid because impos'd without any regard to the people's ability, and commonly destin'd to feed the ambition or lust of the Prince, and the luxury or avarice of his Ministers.

confidently affirm, that a report is spread over all the world, as if those treasures, which antiquity fabulously relates of (33) CROESUS and MIDAS, were possess'd in reality by your King alone, and left him by his (34) father. For we are not to learn, with what industry that most wise King apply'd himself to heap and hoard up mony

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(33) The riches of these were so much celebrated by Poets and Historians, that they are long since grown into a proverb in all *European* languages.

(34) The sum his father left him, was, according to his Historian *Herbert*, 1800000 pounds Sterling, which is more than of quadruple value to the same sum at this time. But he was so addicted to shows, balls, juffs, and magnificent entertainments, that a great part of this treasure was consum'd, before so large a hole was made in it by this war with *France*.

from every quarter: as if he seem'd by some divine admonition to have foreseen, that he had begot such a son, to whom he was to leave unusual and immense riches, such as might be sufficient for his vast and invincible soul, whereby to vanquish his enemies, and to purchase for himself and his subjects everlasting fame.

BUT as for what relates to the SKILL of the Generals, I really suppose none to be so wholly destitute of understanding and common sense, as not plainly to perceive, that in this particular you need not envy any nation whatsoever. I my self cou'd mention several Captains and other officers, several Colonels of horse and foot, whose courage afforded such proofs of it self this year, that even the  
greatest



greatest armies might be safely committed to their care. But I purposely pass 'em all over, I set 'em all aside for another time : for I hasten to your King himself, on whom both nature and art seem with some contention to have heapt all their gifts. The former has bestow'd on him shape, gracefulness, strength, judgment and (35) courage : as the latter has given him power, riches, treasures, subjects, the respect and affection of his

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(35) All our domestic writers, and not a few foreigners, confirm this exact character of *Henry the eighth*. Tho' our Author therefore knew how to address him on his bright side, yet he cannot be said to flatter him, since he has not purposely conceal'd (for how cou'd he?) any of those blots, either of lust or cruelty, which afterwards stain'd the reputation of so brave a Prince.

subjects, and the desirable success of all his undertakings. (36) CICERO is of opinion, that **SKILL** in military affairs, **VALOUR**, **AU-**  
**TORITY**, and **FORTUNE**, are conditions to be indispensably requir'd in a General. I shou'd think it rather tedious than necessary to discourse of each of these severally and distinctly. For valour in which nature rouzes, inclination trains, and exercise confirms your King; authority, which of it self accompanies the name of a Prince; and fortune, which, tho' it be thought to be of such importance in war, is yet but the handmaid of prudence and circumspection:

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(36) *Ego enim sic existimo, in summo Imperatore quatuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Orat. pro lege Manilia.*

Do you not perceive, I say, these three conditions of a General to be so signally conspicuous in your King, that you may more easily and copiously publish 'em to others, than hear me with patience in their commendation? Nevertheless, in treating of the *military art*, I shall so touch on each of these as I go along, that none can have the impudence to deny, but that in a most ample manner they meet in the person of your King.

FOR my part, I do so judge of the art of war, as to be perswaded, that, like all other sciences, it may be easily learnt by two principal means, JUDGMENT and PRACTICE. I will not deny indeed but that practice do's mightily contribute towards attaining this art. Yet I wou'd have it  
so

so accounted of, that if you ask'd me the question, which I shou'd sooner wish for in an excellent General, judgment and courage, that is to say, prudence and fortitude, or else practice and exercise? I wou'd answer that I shou'd always prefer the first to the last: for it was not impertinently said of FABIVS MAXIMVS nicknam'd the *Lingerer* (who first confounded by his arts the stratagems and arts of HANNIBAL) that (37) Experience is the mistress of fools. He that is master of Judgment, after resolving with himself, knows how to do those things, which others have learnt to resolve, by doing or seeing them done. ALEXANDER the *Macedonian* is our witness, who,

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(37) Liv. lib. 22. *Eventus stultorum magister est.*



by his Father's death being call'd to the government from the very beginning of his youth, did straight illustrate the renown of his name by as many (38) victories, as there were Kings in almost all *Asia*, and a considerable part of *Europe*; merely because he excell'd in greatness of genius and valour. If therefore the SKILL of a General be rather contain'd in judgment and courage than in practice, who is there, I pray, that either in quickness and dexterity of wit, in gallantry and greatness of mind, is able to compare with your own King? Who is there that more narrowly sees into all things? who can discern more shrewdly? or

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(38) This is agreed by all Authors, and needs no authorities to confirm it.

who dares more briskly adventure? But some body may object, that there were not wanting to ALEXANDER ( of whom we just now made mention ) the veteran Soldiers and most skilful Generals, who had serv'd under his father King PHILIP: to whom I answer, that neither to your King are wanting the veteran commanders and soldiers of his (39) father. The *Netherlanders*, who are the stoutest, and most expert horsemen of all (40)

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(39) *Henry the seventh*, besides the rebellions he quell'd at home, had wars abroad both with *Charles the eighth of France*, and with good success against the *Scots and Irish*.

(40) *Gaul* was divided by the *Romans* into *Transalpina* or *Comata*, and *Cisalpina* or *Togata*. *Gallia comata* was divided. 1. into *Celtica* or *Lugdunensis*, 2. *Aquitanica*, 3. *Narbonensis* or *Braccata*, and, 4. *Belgica*, comprehending *Picardy*, and all the *Netherlands* to the *Rhyn*.

*Gauls*,

*Gaul*, will not be wanting to him ; no more than (41) *German* foot, *Generals*, and *Princes*. *FERDINAND* the King of *Spain*, his father-in-law, will not be wanting ; whose ability in council, in wisdom, authority, and arms, not on-

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(41) 'Tis remarkable, in the first place, that these are just our present Allies, tho' now of infinitely greater importance ; the *seven united Provinces* alone being much more powerful than were all the *seventeen*, when under one Prince. Secondly, comes the King of *Spain* under consideration ; but we have great reason to believe that so promising a Prince as *Charles* the 3d, will prove a more steady Allie than *Ferdinand* the fifth, who was commonly known to make light of his faith and word, when his interest requir'd it. Thirdly, we ought justly to acknowledge that *Maximilian* was a war-like Emperor, and a favourer of Learning tho' rudely educated ; but he was careless in his finances, liberal to a fault, abus'd by his ministers, negligent of occasions, and generally over-reach'd in treaties.

ly

ly all his *French* enemies have often learnt by sad experience, but each of the three parts of the world have already try'd it, even to the very *Antipodes*,

(42) *Lying far distant under another sun.*

Lastly, the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, the other MARS of our days, will not be wanting; who, having spent his whole age from his cradle to his hoary hairs in warring with diverse enemies, do's not more surpass all the Generals of his time by the *Imperial* dignity, than by his skill in the military science. Upon

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(42) *Alio sub sole jacentes.*

*America*, as every body knows, was discover'd by *Christopher Columbus* in the reign of *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella*.

him



him ( that I may omit others )  
 your King securely relies, having  
 him for a confederate, for a mas-  
 ter, and for a father; I say, a  
 (43) father: for never did any  
 father embrace a son with so much  
 kindness and affection, as CAESAR  
 do's your King; none was ever so  
 sollicitous for his children, none  
 did ever better wish or consult for  
 the safety of his Issue, as that best  
 of Emperours contrives and labours  
 for the dignity, honour, and fame

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(43) *Maximilian* was very fond of *Henry*,  
 and did him the honour ( as I remark'd in  
 the Preface ) to become his soldier. He  
 likewise long but unsincerely entertain'd him  
 with hopes of succeeding him in the Em-  
 pire: but us'd to despise his temerity, e-  
 specially at *Terouënne*; as if it had been more  
 laudable to lose, as he himself often did,  
 by art, than to gain, as the other did, by  
 courage.

of

of the said Prince. But why do I pursue these superfluous arguments? Since even your King himself is a manifest demonstration to all men, that whoever is endu'd with natural prudence, whoever has receiv'd sufficient Judgment from nature, and wants not for vigour of mind or body, stands in no need of long practice, to fulfil all the duties of a (44) Generalissimo. When your

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(44) Of these judicious observations many examples might be produc'd against vulgar prejudices; but we need not go back to the Ancients, nor abroad to other Nations (where yet the King of Sweden is an illustrious proof of it) while we have the happiness

your King is yet but in his two and twentieth year, at which age other young Princes scarce quit their play-things ; when, leaning on the breast of his most fond and beautiful consort, he might lead his life in ease and delights : yet without any to persuade, without

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happineſs to afford ſo extraordinary an Example at home, I mean *John Duke of Marlborough* and Prince of *Mindelheim*. For tho' from his very youth he aſcended thro' all the degrees to the higheſt poſt of a ſoldier ; yet at the beginning of this War there wanted not apprehenſions of his ſucceſs, becauſe, tho' preſent in many actions, where he gave ſufficient evidence of his courage, yet before that time he had never the ſupreme command in battle. But he quickly confuted the fear of ſome and the envy of others, by reducing whole Provinces to the obedience of their lawful Prince, by taking of the ſtrongeſt towns, and routing the braveſt armies in the world.

L

any

any to stimulate him, but purely influenc'd by his own judgment and courage, did you not see him resolve on the *French* expedition, to make preparations sooner yet than he resolv'd, and having got together whatever was necessary for the war, how he pass'd the ocean and landed his army on the enemy's coast? Then marching at the head of it first, to (45) *Terouënne*, and afterwards to (46) *Tournay*,

two

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(45) *Terouënne* lies in the county of *Artois*, and was well provided with artillery, having a garrison of 2250 Men. We laid siege to it the latter end of *June*, and, the *French* in vain attempting to relieve it, we took it by capitulation the 22d of *August*, in the year 1513. But at the earnest request of the Emperour it was straight dismantl'd.

(46) From *Terouënne* our King led his army to *Tournay*, a very large and populous city  
in



two of the strongest and most powerful cities of the *French*, he forc'd 'em both to surrender. At first fight only he put to flight the enemies horse, in which they were accounted much superior, and next, with a few troops of his own cavalry, he totally (47) beat and routed them.

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in the earldom of *Flanders*, before which he sat down the 15th of *September*; and the town surrender'd the 23d, swearing fidelity to the crown of *England*, and paying immediately 50000 Crowns of the Sun, and yearly, for ten years to come, four thousand pounds *Tournois*. It remain'd in our possession till the year 1578. when it was deliver'd to the *French* as part of a dowry with the Princess *Mary* to the son of *Francis* the first, tho' the marriage never took effect; and *Calais* being lost during her marriage with *King Philip* of *Spain*, it was observ'd that this Queen was fatal to the *English* possessions in *France*.

(47) When the *French* King order'd his army to put a supply of men and provisions

them. At last he drove the enemy to the inmost lurking places of *France*, and forc'd him to withdraw his troops out of the field for the security of his towns, after his terrour had spread over all *Italy*, and that he had already graspt in

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sions into *Terouenne*, he charg'd 'em by all means not to come to blows with the *English*. But on the 16th of *August*, as they attempted to relieve the town, our King and the Emperour march'd out against them, and, tho' they were only charg'd by our Horse, they presently fled, whence by the *French* themselves that action is call'd the *Battle of Spurs*, because their countrymen made better use of their Spurs than of their Swords. Their bravest men were taken Prisoners, as the Duke of *Longueville* their General, the famous *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont D'anjou*, and several more. The Lieutenant General *La Palisse* was also taken, but found means to escape thro' the corruption or negligence of his keeper.

his

his imagination the (48) empire of *Europe*. But your King being oblig'd to yield to the season of the year, and to the sharpness of the approaching winter, having dispos'd part of his forces in winter quarters, and to garrison his new conquests, he brought back to *England* the rest of his army, not losing one soldier in his march or passage, and all of 'em replenish'd

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(48) All that have aim'd at the empire of *Europe* (which the *Spaniards* and the *French* have done in their turns) did first endeavour to make themselves masters of *Italy*; either as thinking it best seated for such a monarchy, as it has the *Mediterranean* sea on both sides, or as if the fate of the world depended on the ruins of ancient *Rome*, or on some vertue inherent to that very ground, as was formerly believ'd of the *Delphic Oracle*. But the *French* at this time look on *Spain* to be better fitted for that purpose, as commanding the wealth of the *Indies* and the trade of the world.

with hope, resolution, glory, and honour. Now, while these things were acting, the perfidious King of *Scots*, preferring the wicked persuasions of the *French* to the ties of promise and affinity, and getting together greater forces than ever that Kingdom was able to raise before, he enters the borders of your country in a (49) hostile manner. But he was so oppos'd by the orders and good fortune of your Monarch, that the King of *France* understood at one and the same time the taking of his towns, and the overthrow of his allies, the King himself and almost the whole Nobility being slain. But, good God! With what prudence

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(49) The reader may expect the particulars at large somewhat lower.



were all these matters (50) order'd! With what justice, with what moderation were they manag'd! With what virtue, with what liberality were they perform'd! With what patience in fatigues, with what resolution in dangers, with what industry in acting, with what diligence in dispatching, with what councils in providing were they all accomplish'd! There was never any mutiny in the Camp, no complaint for provisions, no scarcity of carriages, or of any thing that belongs to the artillery; neither the expedition of encamping, nor the art of besieg-

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(50) Here very fully, but in the compass of a few words, our Author expresses the arts of a great Prince, with the duties of wise Ministers and an expert General, of all which our present administration is the most intelligible Commentary.

ing, nor the caution of marching, nor the courage of engaging were ever wanting; never was the knowledge of either place or time once in question. Now, do not all these things clearly demonstrate to you the **SKILL, VALOUR, AUTHORITY**, and finally the most favourable **FORTUNE** of the General? If yet Fortune in a General be any other thing, besides the will and permission of almighty God, with the knowledge and mastery of those arts which we have mention'd above. But if your King being yet a new soldier, and bearing arms the first time only last year, has most exactly perform'd all these things by the mere excellence of his judgment and courage; what do you think he's like to do hereafter, when he has made more campaigns, and that he has  
in

in a little time fortify'd by experience what he now understands only in theory? Certainly he must needs be preferable not only to all the Generals of our days, but likewise to the most excellent (51) Com-

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(51) A person of *Henry's* rank, disposition, and parts, might doubtless have arriv'd to the glory of an excellent General. But good reasons may be given why he did not. First, his father-in-law, *Ferdinand's* treachery thrice repeated allay'd his ardour for war at the very beginning, and afforded him leisure during the succeeding peace to addict himself too much to the gaudy pleasures of a Court. Next, his thoughts were remov'd from all other objects by the long troubles in which his misfortune in wives, together with disputes about Religions, did wholly involve him. But lastly, the reason most to be approv'd, was the noble resolution he once took, not of making conquests over his neighbours, but to be the arbiter of *Europe*; in which he is yet to be blam'd for getting so little by it, either in conditions for the encouragement of Trade, or otherwise.

manders

manders of all ages. But tell me ( I intreat you ) do not you also perceive it to follow from what we have discours'd hitherto, that the most favourable occasion possible is given you at present to subdue your enemies, and to become masters of all *France*? Or will you look on this OPPORTUNITY nearer? Are you desirous to have her expos'd in a clearer light, stark naked before your eyes? Come then, I beg of you, examine the strength and means of the enemies, and compare and ( 52 ) balance 'em

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( 52 ) This ought likewise to be a lesson to us at this time, and the rule of our proceedings : and if in the scrutiny we find our selves to be press'd with some difficulties (as who shou'd think of making war, without resolving beforehand to bear many inconveniencies? ) yet we'll find the case of the *French* infinitely worse, and their incumbrances almost insupportable.

with



with your own: then at length you'll more truly judge what is to be reasonably hop'd or despair'd, either by them or by your selves.

*ENGLAND* (as we have already shown) do's plentifully afford as many native soldiers as you will, and those to be pick'd out according to your own fancy, rather than to be taken into service out of necessity. *France*, besides their nobility and gentry which serve on horse-back, produces very few good foot, and those only among the *Gascons* and *Picards*. All the rest of their peasants are (53)  
faint

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(53) We might here from ancient Authors insert the characters they give of the *Gauls*, which are not much to their advantage. But our Orator needs not any notes in this place to illustrate his writing or to sharpen his stile,

faint hearted, base, servile, beggarly, and so accustom'd to the yoke of the (54) nobility, that they seem to differ very little from slaves which are purchas'd with money. The *English* soldiers, when they list themselves, do either come from holding the (55) plow, or from tending of cattel; and they immedi-

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stle, which some perhaps will censure as too plain: yet as we are not to think quite so ill of the *French* as he represents them, so it ought to be our constant endeavour always to merit the commendations he gives of our own nation.

(54) Tho' at present the power of the Nobles is not so great, yet the slavery of the Commons is not less; but they enjoy this miserable comfort, to see their former masters become their fellow servants.

(55) Agriculture and Pasture are employments that breed people to be hardy, and to bear all weathers and chances.

ately

ately learn, being taught by nature her self, to keep under their colours, not to leave their ranks, to handle their arms, to hit their enemy, and to make little account of life: then they inure themselves to sleep on the bare ground, to pass whole nights and days in the open air, to bear cold and heat with equal patience, to allay their (56) hunger (if occasion so requires it) with sallads or wild fruit, and to quench their thirst with water. Now, on the contrary, your *Frenchman* is equally im-

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(56) Whoever doubts this by reason of our great plenty, let him only consider what our soldiers suffer'd in the campaign before the peace of *Reswyck*; where he'll be at a loss which most to admire, the proof they gave of their sobriety and patience, or of their love to their country, and their fidelity to King *William*.

patient

patient of cold and heat, unable to bear the slightest fatigue, fainting with the least hunger, and extremely subject to thirst; he's lazy, cowardly, a runaway, and a thief: being a boaster in the camp, a deserter in the fight, the prey of his enemies, and the plunderer of his friends. By the blessing of almighty God you overflow with riches, and can bear any expences, any pay of soldiers, or indeed any (57) largesses of gold and silver. Whether you had rather have your own men, or foreigners, or both; you can maintain as many, and for as long a time as you (58) please.

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(57) Witness those extraordinary subsidies we pay for their troops, and also on other occasions, to so many foreign Princes, both in this and the last war.

(58) This is our present case.

They



They on the other hand (because their noblest and bravest men are consum'd by perpetual wars, because the King's treasures are quite spent, the publick exchequer exhausted, the revenues of the Kingdom diminish'd, and private families brought low) are in equal want of arms, horses, men, mony, and, in a word, of every thing (59) besides. But, passing over these matters, let's now proceed to compare the two Kings themselves with one another.

COME on *Frenchmen*, as you are all frothy fellows and Braggadocio's, bring out your King, and, if you think fit, boast in the first place that he's grown old in the

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(59) This is just their present condition.

midst of arms and wars ; and then, in giving a catalogue of his gallant actions, forget not to mention that in *Lombardy* LEWIS, the Duke of *Milan*, was first expell'd out of his Dukedom, and afterwards made a (60) prisoner : provided you do not pass over

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(60) *Lewis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, was a most exacting prince. In his extremity he wou'd have recourse to his subjects, promising to remit their taxes and to redress their grievances, but they wou'd not trust him : for on such occasions princes are suspected to discover their fear and danger, more than their goodness and sincerity. This was never more remarkably verify'd than a little before the late Revolution, when K. *James*, understanding the preparations of the *Dutch* to assist the *English* against him, restor'd the Charters of cities, stopp'd the proceedings begun against *Magdalen* College, and promis'd to call a free Parliament : but crediting a false report that the whole *Dutch* fleet was destroy'd a by storm, he revok'd all immediately, which serv'd but to precipitate his fate.

in

in silence, that this Duke, being for just reasons grown odious to his own people, was by them voluntarily deserted, but not vanquish'd by your prowess; and that, when shortly after he renew'd the war, he was indeed made a prisoner, not by force or arms in battle, but by the treachery and treason of those you corrupted with (61) mony. Add in the next place, that (62) FREDERICK the King of Naples was depriv'd of his King-

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(61) *Lewis*, on his being driven out of his dominions in the year 1499, fled to the Emperour *Maximilian* in *Germany*; but returning afterwards to *Italy*, and renewing the war with good success, he was by the *Switzers* perfidiously betray'd and mercenarily deliver'd up to the *French* at *Novara*. He liv'd ten years a prisoner in *France* where he dy'd.

(62) *Lewis XII*, King of *France*, and *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, made a secret  
M treaty

Kingdom : provided you confess this likewise, that your King did not conquer that Kingdom, but was invited and receiv'd by the nobility of the country ; and when in a little time some ( 63 ) difference arose between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, there were three great armies of the *French* destroy'd by a moderate handful of *Spaniards*, and driven out of all their camps, cities, towns, and castles.

What

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treaty in the year 1501, to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to share it between them. So that *Frederick* ( obnoxious to his subjects for misgovernment ) was thus betray'd by a Prince of the same blood and family ; wherefore out of rage to him he fled to *France*, where *Lewis* made him Duke of *Anjou*.

( 63 ) The *Spaniards* and the *French* falling to quarrel about their bounds, each in reality



What have you now a mind to prosecute? (Is it) the war undertaken against the (64) Pope? or (65) *Bologna* forcibly usurp'd from the

lity aiming at the whole to himself, the great *Gonsalvo* with a few *Spaniards*, living soberly and keeping good discipline, got the better in every rencounter of the more numerous, but debauch'd and insolent *French*. In the battle of *Seminara* he took their general, as in the next battle in *Calabria* their general was likewise made prisoner, and the Duke of *Nemours* was kill'd in the battle of *Cerignoles*.

(64) Concerning this war against the Pope, see the preface.

(65) The *Bentivolios* who had long tyranniz'd in *Bologna*, being abandon'd by the *French* who promis'd 'em assistance, were forc'd to retire from thence *Anno* 1501. The Citizens put themselves under the Pope's protection, who became their real master, tho' leaving 'em the names of their ancient privileges, and some outward show of liberty.

the Church? or the victory gain'd  
at the battle of (66) *Ravenna*?  
But

But in the year 1511. they revolted again  
to the *Bentivolios* assisted by the *French*, while  
the *Pope's* army was forc'd to retire by night,  
not without great loss and danger. But it  
was restor'd again to the *Papacy*, where it  
continues to this day.

(66) The battle of *Ravenna*, which was  
most obstinate and bloody, and wherein fell  
on both sides above 10000 Men, was fought  
on *Easter-Sunday*, Anno 1512. The Gene-  
ral of the *French* was *Gaston de Foix*, Duke  
of *Nevers*, and of the *Spaniards* *Raymond*  
*de Cardona* Viceroy of *Naples*, with the fa-  
mous *Peter Navarra*. *Gaston* was besieging  
*Ravenna*, and attack'd the *Spaniards* in their  
camp who came to relieve it. He had in  
his army, besides the Duke of *Ferrara*, the  
Cardinal of *Saint Severin* Legate from the  
Council of *Pisa*; as the Cardinal of *Medici*,  
the *Pope's* Legat, was in the other army.  
Many noble captains fell, and *Peter Navarra*  
with several others was taken prisoner. The  
*French* obtain'd the victory by the valour of  
the *Germans* and *Italians*, their *Gascons* and  
*Picards*

But pray, do not conceal that you made war against the vicar of CHRIST, that you march'd against the *Apostolick See*, and that a (67)

*schism*

*Picards* behaving themselves basely that day. But while the *Spaniards* retir'd in good order, the conquering *Nevers*, not thinking his victory complete at that rate, was kill'd as he endeavour'd in vain to break them. The Pope's Legate was presented to the Legate of the *Council*; and, considering the Generals kill'd, the victors were the greatest losers.

(67) *Lewis XII*, was so exasperated against *Julius II*, that he once intended to renounce all obedience to the *Papacy*, and struck medals with this inscription *PERDAM BABYLONEM*, *I'll destroy Babylon*. He first call'd an assembly of the *Gallican Clergy* at *Orleans*, and next at *Tours*, anno 1510, preparatory to the council which was to meet at *Pisa* the following year. Of this council he was the chief authour and promoter, being seconded by certain *Cardinals*, some of which might probably intend a reformation, tho' others did manifestly ingage themselves according to their national interests,

schism was occasion'd in the orthodox faith ; then confess that thro' the discord reigning amongst your adversaries, and not by virtue of your own courage, you got only the name and appearance of a victory, but met in reality with a great and bloody defeat, there having fallen double the number of the conquerours than of the conquer'd. Add

or private designs. Thither however the Pope was cited, the Cardinals alledging (not without great reasons) that the head of the Church wanted to be reform'd as much as the members, accusing *Julius* himself of simony, rapine, blood, and most dissolute manners. The Pope in opposition summon'd a general council to meet at Rome in the church of St. *John Lateran* 1512, pretending his authority to be above all councils, so that none cou'd be lawfully call'd without his consent: wherefore he pronounc'd that of *Pisa* to be *schismatical*, whose members and abettors he excommunicated as *Hereticks*.

this



this in like manner ( unless you are asham'd to mention it ) that the Emperour having shortly after recall'd the *Germans*, by whose valour alone the *French* maintain'd their reputation in *Italy*; they were put into such a consternation by a small number of (68) *Switzers*, and

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(68) In the year 1513, the *Switzers* being promis'd a good sum of money by our King, if they wou'd fall into *Burgundy* at the same time he landed in *France*, and the Emperor promising to put himself at their head, they faithfully perform'd articles, and march'd as far as *Dijon*. They furiously began to batter the place, whereupon the Duke of *Tremouille*, on condition they departed home ( tho' they wou'd not promise not to return ) gave them hostages, that his King wou'd quit all pretensions on the Dutchy of *Milan*, and pay them 600000 Ducats in money. So they march'd home, justly exclaiming against the Emperor for not coming to be their General, and against our King for not keeping touch in the sum he engag'd.

by the dread of those *English* forces which made a descent in *Guienne*, that they precipitantly quitted the possession, or rather the tyranny of *Italy*. I see you wou'd purposely slip over that expedition, which you formerly undertook against (69) *Salses*, a fortress of the *Spaniards* situate at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains, from which place (as soon as you understood that King *FERDINAND* was marching to its relief) you ran away as shamefully as you inconsiderately came. I also perceive that you are not willing to remember the over-

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(69) The castle of *Salses*, or *Saußes*, stands on a lake of the same name in the principality of *Catalonia* and County of *Roussillon*; and tho' the *French* did not succeed against it then, yet they took it in the year 1640, and hold it to this hour.

throw

throw your lately receiv'd at (70)

the commission of the barrow now in No.

the to some virtue but against the

the navigated of the, which will

(70) The King of *France*, after making a League with the King of *Aragon* and with the *Venetians*, sent again an army into *Italy*, and having recover'd all he had lost there besides *Como* and *Novara*, this last place was besieg'd: but it was gallantly defended by the *Switzers* in Garrison, as if they wou'd now retrieve the honour of their nation, which was somewhat sully'd in that same place before, when they betray'd the father of this Duke whom they now assisted. They never suffer'd the Gate next the enemies camp to be shut, and intrepidly stood a general assault, wherein they repuls'd the *French*, who thereupon rais'd the siege. But the *Switzers*, without waiting for more of their Countrymen who were expected next day, did, on the sixth of *June 1513*, march'd out of *Novara* at one a clock in the morning, without either artillery or horses to the number of ten thousand and fell on the *French* secure in their camp two miles distant from the city. For sometime these made a stout resistance, but losing their artillery and baggage, they were at length after a bloody engagement entirely routed. Of the *Switzers* there fell about

*Novara*, when again you invaded *Italy* with your wonted ill fortune. But these things and many more of the like nature, are to be forgiven you : provided that from all you have or might have mention'd, you'll acknowledge to have reapt no other advantage, except that by very many and most signal defeats you are driven out of all *Italy* (which you unjustly endeavour'd to seize) and are forc'd to keep within the ancient bounds of *France* ; that your horses, your men, your arms, and all your wealth being consum'd, *France* has lost both its former power and glory ; that your King being

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about 1500, with *Mottin* the author of this glorious enterprize ; and of the *French* were slain 10000, the *Germans* in their service dying as they fought, and the *French* themselves as they fled ; as *Guicciardin* tells the story.

old,



old, lazy, decrepid, wasted with distempers, and weaken'd with pains, is deservedly punish'd for his pride, bellows night and day with the torments of his disease, is hated of God and all (71) mankind, equally cast down in mind and body, being fatal and unfortunate not only to himself and to his subjects, but in like manner to all those with whom he's join'd either by league or amity: for the King of (72) Navarr was  
 strip

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(71) *Lewis* the 12th, tho' troublesome to some of his neighbours, especially in *Italy*, was so careful of his subjects, and so easie in his Government, that they usually stil'd him the *father of the people*. As for any modern instance better answering this character, let others find it out for themselves, for I well know that Comparisons are odious.

(72) Here are precedents for the late King *James* dead in exile, and the present fugitive electors of *Bavaria* and *Colen*, without naming many other instances of princes

stript of his Kingdom, and his Possessions, as soon as he began to take his part; when the (73) *Vene-*  
*tians*

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ces that have been losers in their fame and fortune by joining with *France*. Concerning the King of *Navarre*, consult the preface.

(73) The *Venetians*, in the year 1513, falling off from their engagements with the *Spaniards* and the *Pope*, and making a League with the *French*, were beaten off from *Verona*, lost *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, and many other places: all their territories on the continent were plunder'd and destroy'd, the smoke by day and the flames by night being easily seen from *Venice* it self, nay, the *Spaniards* and *Germans* came at last to *Marghera*, over against it, and thunder'd from thence with ten large pieces of Canon towards *Venice*, rather for the fame of the dead than hoping to endamage a City so far distant in the Sea. But the *Venetian* General thinking to cut off their return, being cumber'd with their booty, posted his army in certain passes near *Vicenza*. The *Spaniards* endeavour'd to pass another way, but being necessitated to  
 come

*tians* enter'd into a treaty of alliance with him; they presently receiv'd a notable blow from the *German*s and the *Spaniards*; and when the King of *Scots* wou'd needs follow the madness of the same *French* King, he did straight, in the very beginning of his folly, lose both his army and his (74) life.

come to blows, they so repuls'd the *Venetians* in the very first charge, that they all fled without attempting a second, leaving their baggage and artillery to encrease the plunder.

(74) While *Henry* the 8th laid siege to *Tercuëne* (as was said above) *James* IV, the King of *Scotland* his brother-in-law, denounc'd war against him, and enters *England* at the head of fifty thousand Men. To stop his troops march'd *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry* by land, and his son the Admiral by sea. The King encamp'd near a hill call'd *Flodden* on the edge of the mountain *Cheviot* in *Northumberland*, where  
he

**BUT** we have had patience e-  
nough in hearing the *French* thus  
long

he entrench'd his army, tho' much superior  
to the *English*. On *Sunday* the Earl of *Surry*  
sent him word, that, if he durst stay so  
long in *England*, he wou'd give him battle  
the following *Friday*. The admiral did like-  
wise assure him that he wou'd be in the  
vanguard, and spare none but the King  
himself, if he fell into his hands. *James*  
being a Prince of great courage, gladly re-  
ceiv'd this message, sending for answer, that  
he wou'd be so far from failing, that, were  
he at *Edinburgh*, he wou'd leave all business,  
and come express on such an errand. Then  
the Earl endeavour'd to draw him down  
from the hill, which was unapproachable,  
requiring it of him by virtue of his promise;  
and not obtaining this unreasonable de-  
mand, he encamps in such a manner as  
to cut off their provisions from the *Scots*. The  
King dislodges, but keeps still on the high  
ground, where notwithstanding he was at-  
tack'd by the *English* against whom he main-  
tain'd an obstinate and doubtful fight, doing  
in his own person all that cou'd be expect-  
ed



long reckoning up the exploits and  
 praises of themselves and their King.  
 Now come on, O you *English*, bring

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ed from a brave General or a valiant soldier, till at last he was unfortunately kill'd; and with him his natural son the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, two Bishops, four Abbats, most of the Nobility, and about ten thousand of the common Soldiers: others say 12000, and the *Scots* will not own near so many; tho' we allow with *Buchanan* that on our side fell about 5000. The King's body was found the next day, and carry'd first to *Newcastle*, then to *Shene* in *Surry*, from whence (because he dy'd excommunicated) *Henry* obtain'd the *Pope's Breve*, dated the 23d of *November*, and extant (as *Herbert* says) in our records, to transfer the royal body to *St. Paul's*, on condition that the Bishop of *London* shou'd first absolve him, and that *Henry* shou'd perform (which are the words of the *Breve*) some convenient penance in his name. These particulars I thought fit to mention, by reason of the fabulous accounts which the *Scots* gave of his death, after finding themselves frustrated in their idle expectations for many years to see him appear alive again.

out

but your King on the other side, and disdain not to set him against one of the same rank. They brag that their King is grown old in arms, and you'll not deny that your King is a young foldier: but such a young foldier that the vigour as well of mind and body (both which are long since broken in that old man, and grow daily weaker) do in him continually encrease, and become stronger; and by how much the former is hourly more and more dejected and crazy in mind and body, by so much in both do's the latter become brisker and livelier. Wherefore as we behold the rising sun grow every moment more bright and scorching, as the setting sun (on the other hand) is continually colder and more obscure: so we see the one, as he runs headlong towards

wards his end, to fail in all the blessings of mind, body, and fortune ; but the other to be amply crown'd with all the gifts of fortune, and with all the strength both of body and mind. Your King, who with a most happy beginning did first bear arms this year, has overcome all his enemies, partly by those forces led by himself in person, and partly by those who acted by his orders : the other this very year, being now too feeble for war, yet taking up arms in spight of fate, has by the ill luck that attends him, expos'd both himself and his allies to be traml'd by their enemies. All mankind, even those who never saw him, favour your King and wish him success, men of the long robe, men of the sword, the infantry, the cavalry, generals, princes, the whole earth, and, in a word,

N<sup>o</sup>                      heaven



heaven it self assists (75) him ; the other ( as being the common enemy of all, and rather the ruine of his friends than of his enemies ) is forsaken by all, disappointed by all, is become troublesome, abhorr'd, odious, and ominous, as well to himself as to his confederates, and no less to his subjects, than to all the people of other countries.

WHEREFORE (most gallant Gentlemen) seeing the cause of the

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(75) As for the assistance of heaven and the favour of all good men, this Character do's more justly belong to Queen *Anna* ; and tho' she be not quite so young as *Henry* was then, yet she's young enough to make good the rest, with her wonted success, against *Lewis XIV*, and ( if there be occasion ) against *Lewis XV*. As for what follows in this paragraph, I said before, and I say it again, that comparisons, tho' never so just, are frequently odious.

war,



war, which has constrain'd you to take up arms, is so just, so glorious, and so pious, that even God himself, and the Holy Ghost (whose rights you defend) seems to have persuaded you to this enterprize; seeing, thro' the kindness of the same God, you command so great a number of excellent soldiers, that all nations readily allow *Brittain* to be the inhaustible (76) store-house of

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(76) I have demonstrated above that the populousness of any country does wholly depend upon the liberty of the Government. And therefore since for the defence both of liberty and our country great numbers of people are absolutely necessary; so they are not less useful for the consumption of what's imported, and the skilful manufacturing of what's exported: whereby we shall stock all the markets and staples abroad, and encrease both our publick and private incomes at home. For these and the like reasons it is the duty of all wise Legislators to en-

of valiant men; seeing that the whole Island, and your King in particular, do abound with such immense riches, with such flourishing wealth, and with such well-fill'd treasures; seeing that arms, horses, oxen, waggons, carriages, cannon of all sorts, and whatever else is useful and necessary in war, are al-

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courage the coming of all sorts of men to settle among 'em, which must infallibly happen, if they be all equally naturaliz'd, without any other condition but yielding obedience to the civil Government, and taking the Oath of Allegiance: and certainly no reason can occur to me, why other foreign nations may not as safely fill the out-skirts of *London* as the *French*, since they are sure to bring us the same advantages of power, riches, and industry. Their posterity will be all alike reputed natives; and, in my opinion, the greater diversity of strangers, will render any Combination against the old inhabitants the less possible.

ready

ready prepar'd to your hand ; seeing that you have join'd with you in confederacy most valiant and expert Generals, most potent Allies, and most warlike Princes ; seeing the divine bounty has blest'd you with a Prince that is perfectly accomplish'd in all the arts and duties of the greatest King or General, who being led by God himself, mounts with as large a pace to the top of fortune's wheel, as the King of the enemy (on whom fortune has turn'd her back) tumbles headlong from thence to the ground ; and finally, seeing it is evidently manifest that all those things, which we have particulariz'd above, are either wanting to your adversaries, or in a worse state than your preparations, or in themselves inconsiderable : seeing, I say, that all this is so, do you not clearly per-



ceive, that at this very time you are  
 (77) masters of that mistress of all  
 things

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(77) That in all respects the *French* preparations are inferior to ours, is not hard to make out. Nor needs there a clearer demonstration of it, than to remember the violent and extraordinary methods they are forc'd to use at present in recruiting their armies, which yet are no ways likely to succeed; since no body can imagin, that raw fellows who appear so averse to the service, will ever make head against veteran troops, not only eager to fight, but likewise assur'd of victory. But this is not the worst of their misfortunes. The want of *Publick Credit* is the want of all other things. And what native *Frenchman* himself (I pray) wou'd be such a fool as to put his mony in any publick fond at home, either for security or improvement: after all engagements of that kind have been so frequently violated, with so many bankers broken and undone, to the no less scandal than detriment of the Court. For such repeated perfidies (like a certain inveterate ill habit of the body-politick) beget such a spotted distemper at last, as not to be cur'd  
 by



things OPPORTUNITY, whereof, I spoke to you at the beginning? Do you not see her standing before your eyes, inviting, exhorting, compelling you to take up arms, and begging of you, that, quitting your course of living hitherto in peace and pleasures, you wou'd for some little time lay aside your hunting-matches, your balls, your feasting, and such other diversions? Behold, for heaven's sake (78) behold,

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by the ablest state-Empirick : as may be seen in the instance of their *mint-bills*, whose former value and credit can never be retriev'd by any trick, expedient, or endeavour whatsoever.

(78) All this recapitulation of arguments, and the exhortations that follow it, are of as great and indeed greater force to us to go on with the present war against *France*, as not only being engag'd to our Confederates,

hold, with what a liberal hand, and with what a plentiful lap, she offers you soldiers, allies, generals, provisions, riches, treasures, and every thing of this kind, than which for quantity or quality you cou'd not pray for better from God himself. O blessed Lord! how plainly do's OPPORTUNITY shew her self before you! And with what a founding peal do's she rouse you all, and invite you all to lay hold of her self! Now therefore (valiant men) A W A K E, I say for

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rates, and with respect to our preparations, generals, and soldiers than which better can neither be had nor wish'd; but also as this is our fittest opportunity, and as we have a Queen who is so far from wasting the publick treasure on idle Pageants like *Henry*, that she spares some out of her own private revenue towards carrying on the common cause.

heaven's

heaven's sake **AWAKE!** And as  
 we have shown it to be the first  
 duty of **PRUDENCE**, so do you  
 be sure to discern this **OPPOR-**  
**TUNITY**, which so freely of-  
 fers her self to you. Consider,  
 seize, and hold fast those kingdoms,  
 riches, dignities, governments, ma-  
 gistracies, glory, and honour, which  
 she do's promise you, and carries  
 prepar'd in her bosom. For this,  
 without all question, is that same  
**OPPORTUNITY** which pre-  
 ferr'd **THEMISTOCLES** ( as we said  
 some time ago ) not only to all the  
 Generals of *Athens*, but even of  
 whole *Greece* : this is she that e-  
 quall'd **LUCIUS MARCIUS**, who was  
 only a *Roman Knight*, to the great-  
 est Generals in honour and re-  
 nown : this is she that defended *A-*  
*thens*, and the rest of *Greece*, a-  
 gainst the inundations of the *Bar-*  
*barians* :

*barians* : and this same is she that not only restor'd both (79) *Spains* to the *Romans*, but which alone bestow'd upon them the Empire of the world. Suffer her not, I entreat you, to escape out of your hands, lest that other slow-footed hag, which the Poets (as I told you) call REPENTANCE, shou'd afterwards justly torment and cruelly punish you for neglecting her Sister. Now therefore I beg of you again AWAKE, and cheerfully exert your forces. Demonstrate what your King and King-

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(79) *Spain*, comprehending *Portugal*, was by the *Romans* first divided into *Citerior* or the *hither Spain*, and *Uterior* or the *further Spain* : and next into *Tarraconensis*, *Bætica*, and *Lusitania* ; whence the present Kings, as well in their coins as in their public deeds, take the title, not of *Spain*, but of the *Spains* in the plural number.



dom, what the Prince, and Nobility of *Brittain*, and, in short, what *Brittain* her self can do. Now, now, give undoubted proofs to the world, that you are the most worthy Progeny and undegenerate Posterity of ARTHUR, of RICHARD, of EDWARD, and HENRY. Let all of you look upon your King as the other polar Star of the northern Regions, and the peculiar Sun of your own *Brittain*, who is to illustrate himself, and you, and all that relate to him, with a perpetual (80) splendor: for whoever

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(80) To a prince of *Henry's* learning and virtue, who being conscious of his own merits, knew he was not flatter'd in this character, and who had been so lately crown'd with success, these (one wou'd think) shou'd have been irresistible incentives. But we gave no contemptible reasons before, why he wou'd

will duly consider and examin the remarkable comeliness of his person beyond all other Princes, his august dignity, his strength of body, his extraordinary agility, his singular liberality, his intrepid mind, his brave soul overflowing with courage and resolution, and his councils so full of policy and wisdom; I say, whoever considers all this, what else can he judge of him, but that he's some divine HERO, not of earthly race, but expressly sent down from heaven? If you will therefore but effectually assist him with your hands, with your advice, with your courage, and

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wou'd not prosecute this war, and so it happen'd that the Courtiers and Soldiers were forc'd to lay aside their thoughts of Governments, Lordships, and possessions in France.

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with your industry ; if you'll not be wanting to his orders, to his good fortune, or to the present OPPORTUNITY of action : in the first place, you'll load your selves with power, riches, lordships, honour, and fame ; and, in the second place, you'll very quickly see your King, not only ruling over the *French*, and all your enemies, but likewise adorn'd with that ( 81- ) dignity and diadem, which

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(81) The Emperor *Maximilian* (as we said) had long entertain'd King *Henry* with hopes that he wou'd resign the Empire to him, which proposition he renew'd in *May* 1516, about three years after the making of this Oration ; offering besides to give him the Dutchy of *Milan* on certain conditions, and even specifying the time, manner, and expence of his Coronation in *Italy*. And tho' all this while he was doing what he cou'd in favour of his own grand-children

*Charles,*

which is the highest among *Christians*. And since 'tis reasonable to believe, that so divine a GENIUS, as his, is not descended among mortals for nought; you may rest fully assur'd, that either by this King's conduct and valour, or never by those of any other Prince, the eastern parts of the world, and

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*Charles* and *Ferdinand*, yet the following year he still amus'd our King with this offer, which at last he discover'd to be vain and artificial, either to draw great sums of money from him, or to get him the readier to embrace his Treaties. Nevertheless, it appears (as *Herbert* says) by our records, that *Henry* at the death of *Maximilian* had not quite despair'd of the Imperial Crown, but continu'd this affair by his Embassador in the *German* dyet, whence he was assur'd of some voices, till *Charles* was actually chosen against all his competitors.

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the holy ( 82 ) Sepulchre of our Redeemer, are to be again reduc'd under the Dominion of *Christians*.

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(82) In those days, and for a long time before, it was thought of great importance to *Christianity* to redeem *Judaea* from the *Turks* : as if the truth of the *Christian Religion* were interested in quarrelling for that spot of ground, tho' against the laws of nations ; or as if the body of our *Saviour* were still in the Sepulchre shew'd to pilgrims by the *Monks* at *Jerusalem* for a penny. But as this pretence serv'd not a little to encrease the power of the *Pope* and the *Clergy* ; so there wanted not princes who by this means us'd to amuze those they had already determin'd to invade.

F I N I S.

